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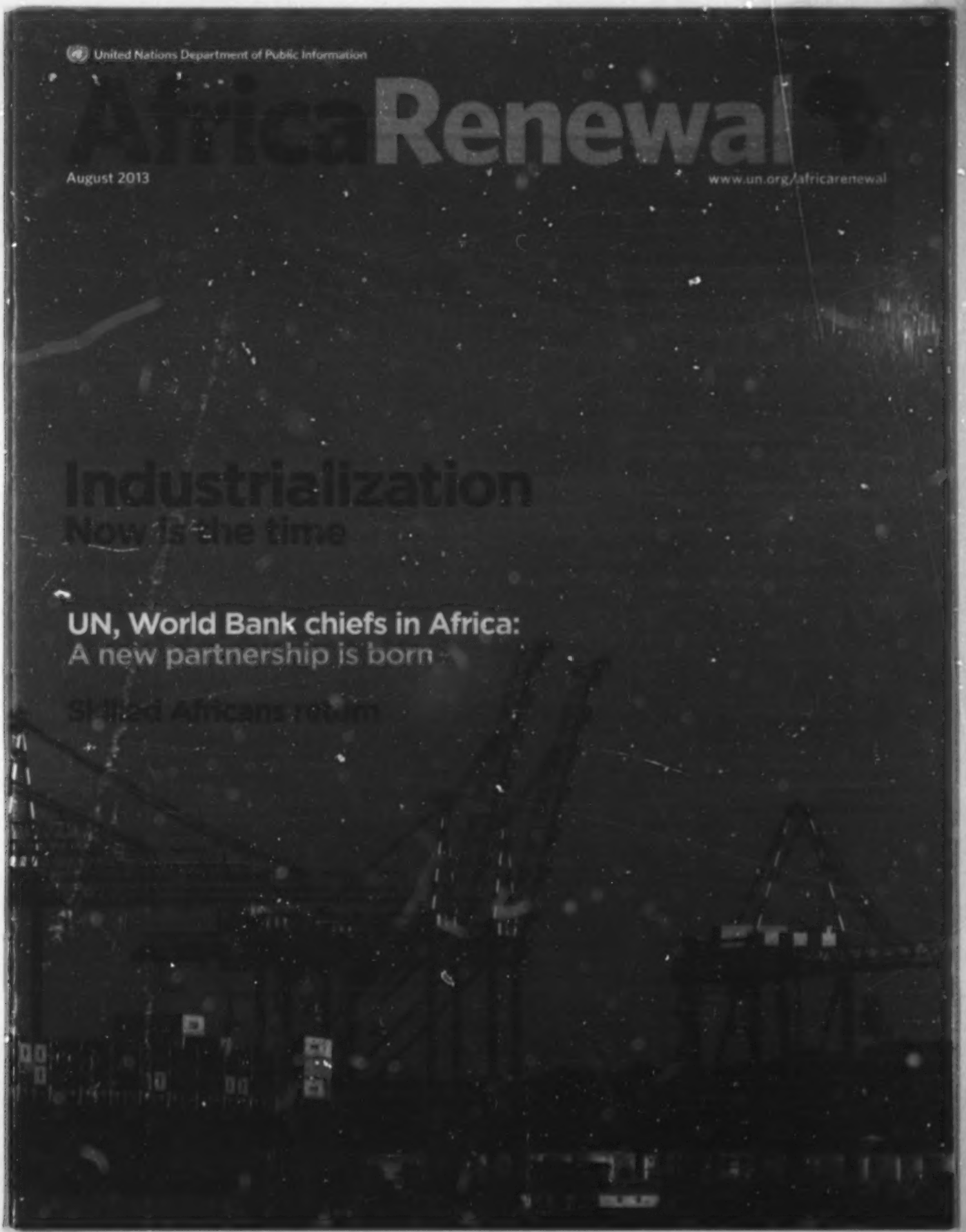

Industrialization
Now is the time

UN, World Bank chiefs in Africa:
A new partnership is born

Skilled Africans return

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Harbour scene in Durban, South Africa.
Africa Media Online/Africa Imagery/Tony Phelps

The seaport in Mogadishu, Somalia, bustles with business as trucks arrive to offload ships of their cargo. *UN Photo/Tobin Jones*

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AFRICA WATCH

Ethiopia has begun diverting the Blue Nile as part of a giant dam project. AP/Elias Asmare

Ethiopia plans Africa's biggest dam

By Pavithra Rao

Ethiopia's ambitious plan to build a $4.2 billion dam in the Benishangul-Gumuz region, 40 kms from its border with Sudan, is expected to provide 6,000 megawatts of electricity, enough for its population plus some excess it can sell to neighbouring countries. Dubbed the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, it will be Africa's biggest dam and will depend on water from the 6,700-km Nile River, the world's longest river.

But Ethiopia must first resolve matters with Egypt, which, along with Sudan, claims the rights to the river following a 1929 agreement. That agreement excluded other countries along the Nile River trajectory, such as Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda. Egypt fears that the dam will suck up water flows to the country and severely affect its domestic consumption.

About 86% of the Nile River's water actually originates from Ethiopia, a point the country is underscoring to press its case. In addition, it says that independent experts believe the dam will not affect water flows to Egypt. "There should not be any concerns about a diminished water flow," Alemayehu Tegenu, Ethiopia's minister of water and energy, told the *Associated Press* news agency.

Such assurances have not calmed Egypt's fears. In early June, then-president Mohammed Morsi directed his foreign and irrigation ministers to get more information from Ethiopia on the dam's impact on water supply to Egypt. Although President Morsi took a cautious approach, some Egyptian politicians were demanding a stronger response.

Many observers, however, believe that the countries will find a compromise point that will allow Ethiopia to complete the project by July 2017 and also ensure that there is no impact on water flows to Egypt's population.

Egypt also recently launched a water transportation route that will connect it with nine other East African countries: Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda.

Managing trans-boundary water resources is not always a complicated matter. Since 1994, for example, Angola, Botswana, and Namibia have successfully managed water supplies from the 1,100-km Okavango River that runs through all three countries. They signed an agreement to coordinate water sharing and sustainable use, and even set up the Permanent Okavango River Basin Water Commission to monitor the agreement.

Water is a huge issue in Africa. Up to 300 million Africans still don't have access to safe drinking water, according to the World Bank. The UN in 2010 declared access to clean water a fundamental human right. Drought in the horn of Africa has caused thousands of deaths, killing 260,000 people in Somalia alone from 2010 to 2012, according to the US-funded Famine Early Warning Systems Network, which provides information on food insecurity.

African countries are making mixed progress towards the Millennium Development Goal drinking water global target, which is to halve by 2015 the number of people without access to clean water. While North Africa has attained up to 92% water coverage, sub-Saharan Africa has only managed 63%, states the 2013 Millennium Development Goals report. The report adds that in sub-Saharan Africa improvements have mainly been in the urban areas, while in the rural areas about 40% of households still don't have access to safe water.

With 2013 declared by the UN as the International Year of Water Cooperation, African governments, development agencies, citizens and others will have to formulate and implement policies to ensure efficient water management.

US leads initiative to increase energy in Africa

By Jocelyne Sambira

In five years' time, Africa might see significant improvements in energy, thanks to a US-led initiative called "Power Africa" unveiled by President Barack Obama during a recent three-nation visit to the continent. Students will be able to study after dark, clinics can keep their vaccines refrigerated and businesses can work normal hours.

The US government is leading the charge for Power Africa, helped by some American businesses and by organizations like the African Development Bank.

The initiative is part of a new US policy to focus on the continent's ability to support itself economically, politically and militarily, according to the *Associated Press* news agency. Observers say it veers from previous "aid-based" pledges in that its purpose is to encourage American businesses to invest. But these businesses will have to compete with China, Japan and Germany, which already have strong trade ties with Africa.

The US has pledged a $7 billion investment over the next five years, and another $9 billion is expected to come from the private sector, initially targeting six countries: Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria and Tanzania.

Sub-Saharan Africa needs more than $300 billion to achieve universal access to electricity by 2030, according to the International Energy Agency, a body that advises the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) members on energy policy. The US's current effort is therefore seen by many analysts as a small but important step.

Although Africa is rich in oil, gas, coal and renewable energy resources, electricity is hard to come by, which traps people in poverty. The World Bank found that only 29% of sub-Saharan Africa's population has access to power. Furthermore, African manufacturing companies experience power outages 56 days per year on average, the bank notes.

Smaller projects like "soccket balls," soccer balls with built-in generators, will also be part of the Power Africa initiative, *Forbes* adds. The water-resistant balls capture and store kinetic energy—the kind of energy an object has when it's in motion—to power LED lights, flashlights or cell phones. The invention, by two female Harvard University graduates, can also help reduce reliance on dangerous kerosene lamps.

Africa's agribusiness worth US$1 trillion by 2030

By Aissata Haidara

African farmers and the agribusiness sector could create a trillion-dollar food market by 2030 if they could access more capital and electricity, better technology and irrigated land, according to a World Bank report released in March 2013. For this goal to be achieved, governments and business leaders in sub-Saharan Africa must place agriculture and agribusiness at the top of the development and business agenda, the report states.

The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), the UN agency dedicated to poverty eradication in developing countries, called in 2011 for policy innovations and more investments in agriculture and agribusinesses. Makhtar Diop, the World Bank's vice-president for the Africa region, says, "The time has come for making African agriculture and agribusiness a catalyst for ending poverty."

In addition to untapped water resources, Africa has more than half of the world's fertile and unused land, notes the World Bank, but warns that land allocations for agribusiness have to be carefully carried out. In 2011 the Oakland Institute, a US-based think tank, reported unfair land deals in South Sudan, under which foreign companies bought up fertile and mostly uncultivated land. Such deals did not clarify land tenure and usage, and worse, even threatened the land rights of rural communities.

The World Bank notes that Africa spends $3.5 billion per year on rice importation. With the right incentives many countries could produce enough rice for domestic consumption. Senegalese farmers, for example, experience difficulties in accessing land, capital, finance for irrigation expansion and appropriate crop varieties. They could produce more rice if not held back by these difficulties.

Ten years ago the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) launched the Comprehensive African Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) "to eliminate hunger and reduce poverty through agriculture" by encouraging African countries to invest at least 10% of their national budgets in agriculture.

Strong leadership and commitment from both public and private sectors is critical to increased agricultural production, many analysts believe. "Transforming agriculture in Africa is not simply about helping Africa; it is essential for ensuring global food security," maintains the World Bank.

QUOTABLES

UN Photo/Rick Bajornas

One child, one teacher, one pen and one book can change the world. Education is the only solution. Education First.

Malala Yousafzai, young Pakistani pupil and education activist

What is good for women is good for the family, is good for the community [and] is good for the nation.

Bogaletch Gebre, veteran campaigner for women's rights in Ethiopia and winner of the 2012-2013 King Baudouin African Development Prize

Ultimately I believe Africans should make up their own minds about what serves African interests.

Barack Obama, President of the United States speaking in Cape Town, South Africa, during his recent visit to Africa

I want to see zero new infections, zero deaths from HIV-AIDS and zero discrimination. This won't happen unless we prioritise marginalised groups. This means addressing stigma, empowering women and girls, and reducing the violence against them that makes them so vulnerable to the epidemic.

UK International Development Minister **Lynne Featherstone** speaking to *The Guardian* in Malawi on the allocation of funds for HIV/AIDS

Participants at the Conference on Women's Leadership in the Sahel, which was convened by the European Union, the Office of the Secretary-General's Special Envoy for the Sahel and the UN Women in Brussels, Belgium. EU/Shimera/Alain Rolland

Influencing policy is 'not a numbers game'

More women in Africa enter public office, but still wield little power

By **Jocelyne Sambira**

"If you want to be influential in the political arena, you need to influence policy," Betty Kaari Murungi, a social justice advocate, recently told a room filled with female entrepreneurs and corporate managers in Nairobi, Kenya.

A lawyer by profession, Ms. Murungi is the director of Urgent-Action Fund Africa, a feminist human rights advocacy group, as well as former vice-chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Kenya, and has worked on gender justice issues in Africa. It was women of Ms. Murungi's calibre who sat in the audience of the S.H.E (She Helps Empower) summit, convened in June in Nairobi to provide an opportunity for women to share their leadership advice and tips on how to expand businesses and careers.

Half the sky

"Women make business sense," said Carol Odera, a Kenyan fashion guru and writer for *True Love* magazine. "We are not here to fill a quota," she added "We hold up half the sky...except in senior management."

The UN says that women make up a little over half of the world's population, yet they have unequal access to resources, education and income because they participate less in policy decision-making. They are often the backbone of societies, making up the majority of agricultural labourers.

The World Food Programme, a UN food agency, found that eight out of ten people engaged in farming in Africa are women, and they are the sole breadwinners in one out of every three households. Also, more women than men operate in the informal sector.

Businesses run by women, mainly informal commercial trading businesses, are increasing in Africa, although there is very little research on them, writes Maxwell Awumah for SciDev.Net, a news outlet about science and technology for global development. Even though the informal sector presents an opportunity for generating reasonable incomes, the African Development Bank says most workers are without secure incomes

and lack social protection. In fact, the International Labour Organization has coined the term *working poor* for people in the informal sector, who are mostly women.

In spite of the significant increase in girls' enrolment in primary and secondary schools (and even at the tertiary level outside sub-Saharan Africa), the number of jobs held by women is not increasing. The low level of female employment is a cause for concern, observes the World Bank. Understanding their legal and reproductive rights could help empower young girls and women.

Many highly successful African women have climbed the ladder either as activists or by using their entrepreneurial skills. One such example is Senegal's Magatte Wade, chief executive officer of a manufacturing company that produces herbal drinks and organic coffees and teas sold across the U.S. In 2011, Magatte's company, Adina Inc., had over US$3 million in annual revenues, according to a UN Development Programme-led research paper on successful business models on employing the poor. While a World Bank report on women in the workforce says women's participation in the economy should be an impetus to greater political participation, this is not often the case in Africa.

Gender quotas

Whether in political bodies or corporate boardrooms, women have a limited say in decisions that affect them, notes the UN agency on gender equality known as UN Women. To improve this situation, most developing countries have introduced quotas and other temporary special measures, such as reserved seats, to help women climb the political ladder, a trend that took off following the 1995 Beijing UN Fourth World Conference on Women. About 20% of all parliamentarians around the world are now women, according to the 2013 UN Millennium Development Goals report.

Some countries are faring better. Following a high-profile election campaign in Kenya in March 2013, one-fifth of parliamentary seats went to women, doubling their representation.

In Rwanda, women make up 51% of lawmakers, the highest percentage in the world (see *Africa Renewal* July 2007). South Africa ranks third-highest with 44%.

The growing number of female lawmakers is not the only encouraging sign on gender equality in Africa, writes Rainitou Sow from Make Every Woman Count, an organization that advocates for women's and girls' empowerment. Most countries now have gender policies and government ministries are being tasked to implement them.

And it appears the effort is paying dividends. More African women are now entering public office than ever before, including the highest offices. Joyce Banda of Malawi recently became Africa's second female president, joining her Liberian counterpart, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf. The Liberian leader has also been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, which she shares with her compatriot and fellow peace activist Leymah Gbowee and Yemen's Tawakkol Karman. The late Wangari Maathai, a Kenyan environmentalist, was the first African woman to receive the honour. For the first time in its history, the African Union Commission is headed by a woman, South Africa's Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma. Another South African, former vice president Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, has been appointed head of UN Women. Elsewhere on the continent, several countries (such as Zimbabwe and Gambia) have female vice-presidents.

With the aid of a UN Security Council resolution, passed in 2000, that addresses the excessive impact of war on women, as well as the pivotal role they play in resolving conflicts, more women are serving in UN peace operations around the world – but still short of expectations. For example, in 2013, women comprised less than 4% of global peacekeepers.

Influencing policy

Given the increasing number of female legislators, and women's defining role in the economy, one might think that women in Africa would have more influence on policies that directly concern them. However, cultural practices and deep-seated traditions have been hard to budge.

Undaunted, some legislators have pushed hard and succeeded in introducing laws that benefit women in their daily lives. For example, Angola enacted a law in 2011 to criminalize domestic violence, and Kenya joined 24 other African countries in making female genital mutilation illegal. But progress has been less pronounced in some other countries. For instance, a family law bill proposed in Mali in 2009 that would have promoted women's rights was withdrawn after being blocked by conservative Muslim groups. It was finally signed into law three years later, after having been "substantially watered down," according to reports.

Land rights for women are also highly resistant to reforms (see *Africa Renewal* Special Edition on Women 2012). A glaring example is that women farmers in Africa have no leverage over agricultural policies in their countries and little access to credit, fertiliser and seeds, although they produce most of the food.

As the number of women in executive positions continues to grow in Africa, they must find ways to translate their presence in politics into action and influence. Enlisting the support of men across government bodies is one way to effect reforms. Simply put, political gender quotas in Africa are not enough to amplify the voices of women.

Bawor Mamma spent years recovering from the lingering effects of civil war in Liberia. Newly trained as a solar engineer, she now looks forward to electrifying her village. *UN Women/ Gaganjit Singh*

Many former members of the diaspora are returning to their home countries. Africa Media Online/Guy Stubbs

No place like home

Africa's skilled labour returns

By **Aissata Haidara**

Mariam Koné left Canada five years ago to start a business consulting firm in Bamako, the capital of Mali. As her client base grew steadily, earnings from her company, Koné Conseil, also increased. Business has been great, she says. Although her previous job as an industrial engineer at a consulting firm in Montreal, Canada, was stable and the pay was good, Ms Koné wanted a new challenge in her home country. Her return to Mali was risky and audacious, but it has paid off. "I used to work for others, but now I am working for myself and also hiring people," she says. "And I have no regrets."

70%

Percentage of East African students studying in the United Kingdom who are willing to return home upon graduation

Ms. Koné is one of many young and skilled African immigrants who have gone or are going back to their homelands, mainly from North America and Western Europe. If the 1980s and 1990s were characterized by the brain drain phenomenon—when skilled Africans went abroad in search of greener pastures—these days they are going back home. The new term is "reverse migration," or "reverse brain drain," explains Elizabeth Chacko in an article, "From Brain Drain to Brain Gain."[9] It happens when professionals return to "their home country to take advantage of new growth and employment opportunities."

The International Organization for Migration (IOM), an intergovernmental body that provides services and advice to migrants and governments, acknowledges the trend. Tauhid Pasha, an IOM senior specialist on migration and human development based in London, told *Africa Renewal* in an interview that his organization has helped 150 doctors and nurses return to different countries in Africa. These professionals have in turn trained more than 15,000 local health workers under IOM's Migration for Development in Africa programme, which started in 2001.

According to Mr. Pasha, post-conflict countries like Somalia have been the biggest beneficiaries of IOM's diaspora return programmes. "With their skills, they are being placed in government to restructure the civil service and even enter into high levels of government," he said.

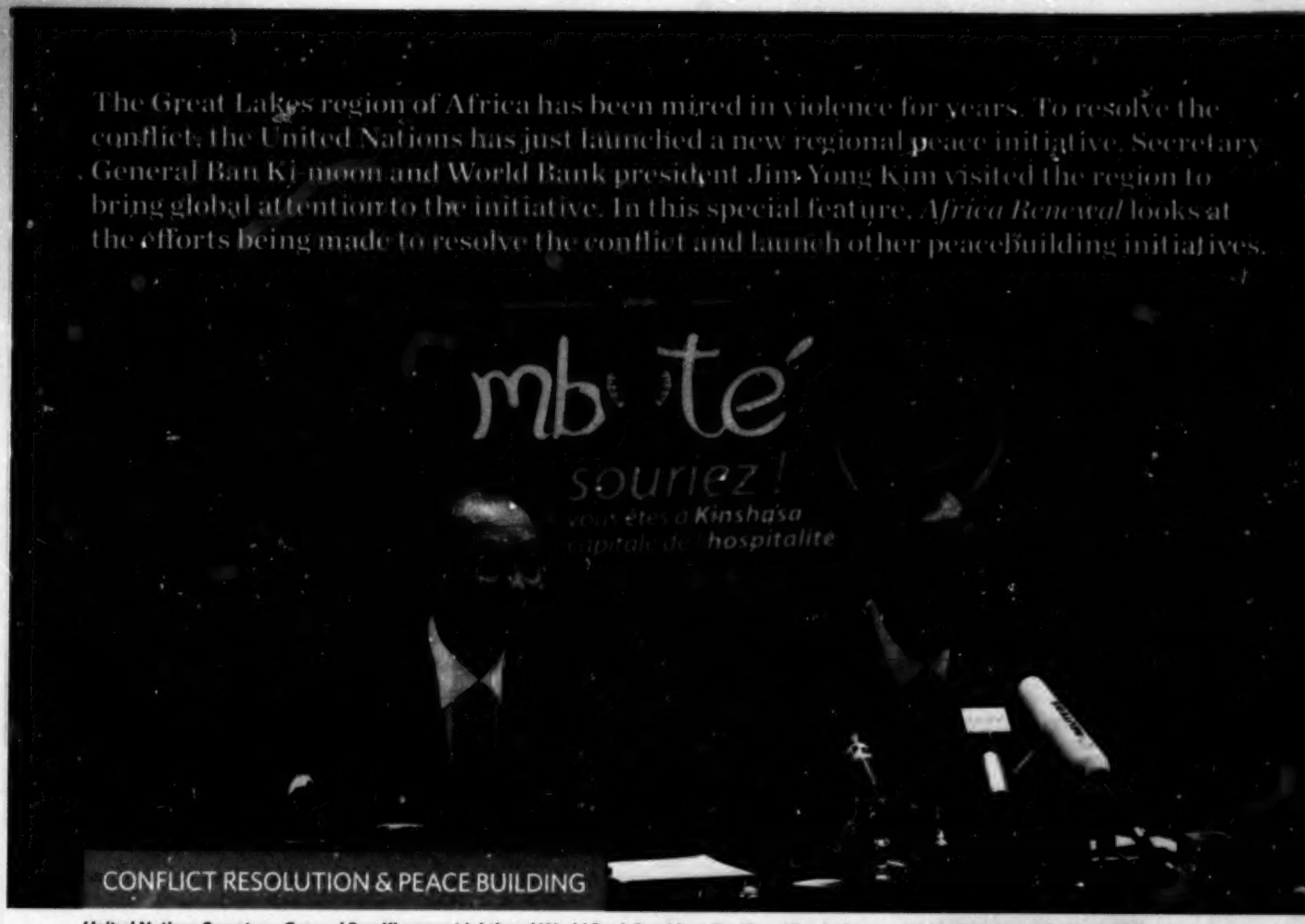
In addition, IOM has assisted about 2,000 skilled people from 41 African countries in returning to their homelands under its Return and Reintegration of Qualified African Nationals (RQAN) programme, which began in 1983. While IOM's repatriation programmes have served only a small fraction of the African migrants living in the West, an increasing number of Africans are finding their way back home without official assistance.

The tide is slowly turning

Analysts believe that most of those returning to Africa do not get into the IOM's repatriation programmes, and Mr. Pasha acknowledged that figures on those returning on their own are difficult to quantify.

see page 26

The Great Lakes region of Africa has been mired in violence for years. To resolve the conflict, the United Nations has just launched a new regional peace initiative. Secretary General Ban Ki-moon and World Bank president Jim Yong Kim visited the region to bring global attention to the initiative. In this special feature, *Africa Renewal* looks at the efforts being made to resolve the conflict and launch other peacebuilding initiatives.



CONFLICT RESOLUTION & PEACE BUILDING

United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon (right) and World Bank President Jim Yong Kim during a press conference in Kinshasa, DRC.
World Bank/Dominic Chavez

UN chief teams up with World Bank leader to resolve conflict and fight poverty in Congo

A new partnership brings in troops and dollars

By **Masimba Tafirenyika**

As the United Nations intervention brigade takes up positions to confront armed rebels in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, expectations are high among some Congolese that perhaps this time the troops will get the job done, help bring peace and stability to the region and set the stage for economic revival. This optimism is nevertheless tempered with caution: the country has often seen short episodes of peace quickly followed by intense fighting.

Alarmed by the degree of violence committed by armed groups in eastern DRC, the UN Security Council in March approved the deployment of a 3,000-strong intervention brigade. The decision was a departure from past practice. Whereas the mandate of the current UN mission in the DRC (MONUSCO) is to use all necessary measures to protect civilians, the Council armed the intervention brigade with a stronger mandate authorising it to "carry out targeted offensive operations, either on its own or jointly with [DRC government forces]." It didn't stop there. It approved the tools that empower the brigade to operate in "a robust, highly mobile and versatile manner" using infantry, artillery, special forces and reconnaissance teams drawn from South Africa, Tanzania and Malawi.

The Council also gave the UN's first-ever offensive combat force an initial period of one year to neutralize internal rebellion, but was flexible enough to allow for extensions—while also providing a clear exit strategy—based on the troops' performance. Operations started in June against the notorious March 23 movement (M23) rebels and other internal and foreign armed groups that have caused mayhem in eastern DRC for more than a decade.

To attract global attention to the conflict in the Great Lakes region and to lend political, diplomatic and economic support to the international community's latest regional peace initiative, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon teamed up with World Bank president Jim Yong Kim in a historic trip to the DRC, Rwanda and Uganda. Their visit was also meant to showcase the unique partnership between the two organizations, which is part of a new strategy to resolve conflicts and boost economic development in the region.

To drive the point home, Mr. Ban told reporters in the eastern city of Goma, the second-largest city in the DRC, that his "peace" and "development" mission with the World Bank chief was "unprecedented in the history" of the two institutions.

Makhtar Diop, a former Senegalese economy and finance minister and the current World Bank vice-president for the Africa region, concurs. On his blog, Mr. Diop gave two reasons why he thought the visit was important. First, he said, it underscores "a new era of global institutions working together to promote stability." And second, "it signals to the citizens of fragile and conflict-affected nations our commitment: we will not leave you behind."

Bring troops and dollars

The deadly conflict in the DRC, whose vast size covers an area about the size of western Europe, has long defied solution. For decades the country's litany of woes has confounded observers, caused untold suffering and death for millions of its citizens, and destroyed its infrastructure. The UN's current two-pronged approach, and this time in partnership with the World Bank, is to go for a show of strength reinforced by a set of economic inducements to peace.

The international brigade—the muscular element, dubbed the "peace enforcer"—will use weapons and equipment that include attack helicopters to mount offensive operations and unmanned aerial vehicles, or drones, to gather intelligence. The economic incentive to complement the brigade comes in the form of a $1 billion pledge from the World Bank. The money will be used to build, repair and overhaul hydroelectric-power plants, roads and agricultural infrastructure along the DRC's eastern border with Rwanda and Uganda.

"This funding will help revitalize economic development, create jobs, and improve the lives of people who have suffered for far too long," said Mr. Kim, adding, "Now the leaders of the Great Lakes region, by restarting economic activity and improving livelihoods in border areas, can boost confidence, build economies, and give new opportunities for millions of people."

Lakes region agreed not to interfere in each others' internal affairs by, among other things, not providing assistance or support of any kind to armed groups operating in the region.

To make it credible, the accord needed peace guarantors. And the guarantors included the UN Secretary-General, the African Union commissioner, President Armando Guebuza of Mozambique as chair of the Southern African Development Community, and President Museveni in his capacity as chairman of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region.

The framework is not simply about security, Mr. Ban was quick to emphasize. It is also crafted to lay the groundwork for a political dialogue that is expected to create the conditions for peace and economic development in the DRC and the region.

> **"A peace deal must deliver a peace dividend: health, education, jobs, opportunity**

"In its simplest form," observed *The Economist*, a UK-based business weekly, "their [Messrs. Ban and Kim] idea is get the World Bank to use its financial muscle to back the UN's political agenda." According to the magazine, Mr. Kim quipped to Mr. Ban, "You bring the troops and we'll bring the dollars."

"A peace deal must deliver a peace dividend: health, education, jobs, opportunity," the UN Secretary-General said after the two leaders met with President Joseph Kabila of Congo in Kinshasa. Touched by the crowds that greeted the entourage during a visit to Goma, Mr. Ban urged the world to invest in the people who have suffered so much and for so long.

Peace guarantors

The joint visit kicked off in the DRC, where Mr. Ban and Mr. Kim held discussions with President Kabila. They then flew to neighbouring Rwanda for talks with President Paul Kagame before meeting with Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni.

At the heart of the visit was an accord called the Framework for Peace, Security and Cooperation, signed by 11 African heads of state on 24 February in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The most important aspect of the framework is that the countries of the Great

There are some concerns that the intervention brigade's offensive operations might provoke retaliatory attacks by the M23 and other rebels against soft targets, particularly civilians. A consortium of international nongovernmental organizations with operations in the DRC wrote to Mr. Ban urging him to make protection of civilians a priority for the brigade.

Talking to reporters after the meeting with President Museveni, Mr. Ban made it clear that the "brigade cannot and does not and will not substitute the primary responsibility of the DRC government" to maintain and preserve its territorial integrity. "Therefore the primary responsibility is with the DRC government, and within those parameters, we will do our best," he said.

Echoing Mr. Ban's pledge to do his best to bring peace to the DRC, Mr. Diop, the World Bank's vice-president, made a similar undertaking: "We simply cannot achieve our goal to end extreme poverty and boost prosperity within a generation unless we help people in the world's fragile and conflict-affected states. They are the ones who need us the most." These statements, if backed by action on the ground, will likely give Congolese justification for their cautious optimism.

Troops from Tanzania arrive in Goma, Democratic Republic of the Congo, to form part of the intervention brigade. UN/Clara Padovan

Intervention brigade: End game in the Congo?

UN peacekeeping task enters a new phase

By **Lansana Gberie**

To the outsider at least, the immediate problem with the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)—a perennial vortex of instability, massive human rights violations and wars both petty and large—is that it defies comprehension. The armed militia factions, opportunistic and often wholly predatory, are many. There are at least 10 such groups in the eastern part of the country alone, which for several years now has been the epicenter of the bloodshed and chaos.

The recent approval by the UN Security Council of two extraordinary measures to deal with the situation in that country—the use of drones or unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) to provide reconnaissance of militia activity, and the deployment of an intervention brigade to take offensive measures against the militia groups—is being hailed by most observers as a potential turning point in the country's recent unhappy history. Though the UN has been careful to present the measures as purely temporary and confined to the DRC, they do indeed constitute a turning point in UN peace missions. Their success—if they do succeed—will undoubtedly lead to their being hailed as "best practice," and radically change the hopeless trajectory of the Congo.

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon has welcomed the measures as a "comprehensive approach aimed at addressing the root causes of instability in the eastern DRC and the Great Lakes region." But optimism has necessarily to be tempered, analysts believe.

The 24 February 2013 "Framework for Peace, Security and Cooperation for the DRC and the Region," which provides the basis for the intervention brigade, does indeed offer a comprehensive approach to the problem. The framework, which the African Union assisted to put together, was signed in Ethiopia by leaders from the DRC, Angola, Burundi, the Central African Republic, the Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, South Africa, South Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia, in the presence of Mr. Ban, who acted as one of the guarantors. The framework speaks of the suffering in the country engendered by "recurring

$140mn

The annual cost of maintaining the intervention brigade

cycles of conflict and persistent violence by armed groups, both Congolese and foreign."

The current path, the framework says, is untenable. It sets out an agenda for the consolidation of state authority and the prevention of outside support to armed groups. It also contains a pledge by the DRC to respect "the legitimate concerns and interests" of neighbouring countries, an implicit reference to Rwanda's long-held security concerns about the operation of anti-government Hutu militants based in eastern Congo.

Mr. Ban raised the issue of the intervention brigade in the Security Council shortly after his return from Ethiopia last March. He told Security Council members that the envisaged brigade would operate under the command of the UN mission in the DRC, MONUSCO, and would cost $140 million (in addition to the $1.4 billion it costs MONUSCO to maintain 19,815 troops annually). On 27 December, Mr. Ban also wrote to the Security Council requesting approval for the use of unmanned aerial vehicles, commonly known as drones, by MONUSCO for "advanced information collation, analysis and dissemination to enhance situational awareness and to permit timely decision-making."

Last January, the Security Council approved the request to use UAVs in the Congo "without prejudice to the ongoing consideration by relevant United Nations bodies of legal, financial and technical implications of the use of unmanned aerial systems."

The trigger for these measures was the brutal occupation of Goma, the capital of North Kivu province in eastern DRC, by the M23 in November of last year. The event was a serious setback to both the Congolese and the UN.

Two days after the fall of Goma, the government suspended its commander of ground forces, Gen. Gabriel Amisi Kumba, who had been accused several times of atrocities by human rights groups—in addition to being accused by the UN Panel of Experts a few months before of selling weapons and ammunitions to illegal armed groups.

The occupation of Goma underlined two perennial problems: the weakness of the DRC to exist as a nation and the readiness of armed rebel groups to exploit this weakness.

The intervention brigade was approved by UN resolution 2098 of 18 March, which states that the intervention brigade will be a rapid reaction force that will conduct "targeted offensive operations" against rebel groups in the country.

The brigade, consisting of 3,069 troops, is led by a Tanzanian general, and is organised into three infantry battalions, one artillery unit, one Special Forces unit and a reconnaissance company. Crack troops from Tanzania, South Africa and Malawi have already been contributed to it, and its mission is to "prevent the expansion of all armed groups, neutralize these groups, and disarm them."

The UN appears determined to emphasize the "exceptional basis" for approving the intervention brigade, averring in the resolution that it is not creating "a precedent or any prejudice to the agreed principles of peacekeeping." The resolution also calls for a "clear exit strategy" for the brigade.

As if on cue, a day after the resolution was adopted, M23's founder, Gen. Bosco Ntaganda, surrendered in the Rwandan capital, Kigali, and was handed over to the International Criminal Court (ICC). The M23 had suffered a violent split at the end of February, leading to serious fighting between the main faction, led by Sultani Makenga, and a smaller faction led by Ntaganda. The M23 had announced a unilateral ceasefire on 7 January, but few took this seriously given the group's

opportunistic character and its lack of a unified front.

Will the drones and the intervention brigade change the chaotic, bloodstained trajectory of the Congo? Its forces, from countries with uneven capacities, will have to choose their targets very carefully to be effective, some observers advise. But a potential target—M23—has already asserted itself.

In April, the M23 wrote an open letter describing Tanzania's decision to participate in the intervention brigade as a "dangerous adventure." The letter, signed by Bertrand Bisimwa, the political leader of M23, called on Tanzania to pull out of the brigade. Bisimwa wrote a similar letter to South Africa, which is contributing over 1,000 well-equipped troops to the intervention brigade. Both South Africa and Tanzania dismissed the threats. Tanzanian foreign minister Bernard Membe told his country's parliament, in response to M23, that "we are not going to Congo as lords of war, we are going there as advocates of peace to help our neighbours."

The M23 is said to have about 2,000 armed fighters, but its real strength in the past came from the support it allegedly got from Rwanda, a charge Rwanda has strongly denied. Rwanda is a signatory to the framework signed in February; on signing it, Rwandan President Paul Kagame noted that "nothing would be of greater benefit to Rwanda than real progress toward regional peace and stability." Rwanda is also currently an elected member of the Security Council, and it played an important role in the Council's adoption of Resolution 2098.

Analysts believe M23 could find itself isolated; without serious internal support in the Congo, and harassed as it already is by other Congolese militia groups like Raia Mutomboki, it could be defeated by the intervention brigade and the Congolese forces.

The mission is not an easy one, however. As Helmoed Romer Heitman, a South African military analyst, told Reuters, "It's a complex mission. From a tactical point of view this is a logistical nightmare because you don't know who's who in the zoo from one day to the next."

Mr. Heitman was referring to the proliferation of competing militia factions in eastern Congo. Taking count of the array of militia groups is a favourite parlour game among diplomats and foreign journalists in Kinshasa. Among the most notorious, you will hear, are the Raia Mutomboki or Angry Citizens Alliance, a multiethnic coalition that appears to control a huge chunk of territory, and to sordid effect (the UN recently accused it of massacring at least 243 women and children in North Kivu); the Nyatura, a Hutu group that has perpetrated massacres of civilians; and a small group called the Union of Congolese Patriots.

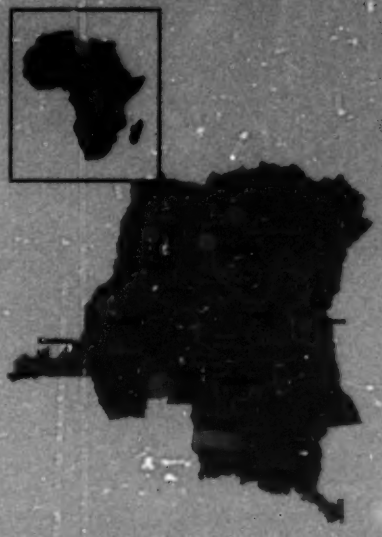
Farther away, the Enyele rebels in Equateur are engaged in a decades-old conflict over fishing rights; there is the Mayi Mayi, a localized group with the limited aim of resisting allegedly Rwandan-backed forces in the Congo; and Uganda's Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) rebels, still active in parts of the Congo, are doing their signature best, killing, raping and abducting children. Indeed, the country's meltdown has at various times drawn Rwanda, Uganda, Angola, Zimbabwe, Sudan, Central Africa Republic and Chad into prolonged warfare.

The M23, however, has gotten all the media attention recently. It was started by Ntaganda and other defectors from the Congolese army. Wanted by the International Criminal Court on charges of war crimes, Ntaganda started cooperating with the Congolese authorities. But the marriage did not last: Ntaganda and others set up M23 less than two years later, claiming that the 23 March 2009 (hence M23) agreement between the government and the Congrès National pour le Défense du Peuple (CNDP), another armed militia, was not being honoured.

It is hard to discern any moment, in a conflict so long and chaotic, with so many false hopes and subsequent disasters, that one can hope may be a turning point. Only a few months ago, hardly anyone in Kinshasa would have had any hope of an end to the long nightmare. Journalists and aid agencies working in conflict situations tend to exaggerate civilian casualties, but the figures bandied about for the Congo's wars—two to three million fatalities—seem rather an underestimate given the scale of the tragedy.

No one, however, doubts that taking M23 out of the equation will bring great clarity to the situation in the Congo. Or that it will surely indicate that the vast unhappy country may be taking a turn for the better. This is why analysts hope that it will be the intervention brigade's first target.

DR Congo at a glance



$1.4bn
Annual MONUSCO budget

$140mn
Additional cost of maintaining the intervention brigade

19,815
Total number of peacekeeping troops

3,069
Total number of troops in the intervention brigade

75.5mn
2013 population estimate

$17.7bn
Estimated 2012 nominal Gross Domestic Product

2,345,409km²
Total land area, making the DR Congo the 11th largest country in the world

Source: United Nations Development Programme/ Africa Development Bank

CONFLICT RESOLUTION & PEACE BUILDING

Recruits in Mogadishu's new fire department are given training by members of the African Union Mission in Somalia's forces. AU-UN IST Photo/Tobin Jones

Uprooting the causes of conflicts

Momentum in post-conflict peacebuilding in Africa

By **Kingsley Ighobor**

On 11 July 2011, when South Sudan's President Salva Kiir and his 8.3 million compatriots celebrated the new country's first independence, he was careful to remind everyone of the harsh realities on the horizon. "All the indices of human welfare put us at the bottom of all humanity," he said, adding: "All citizens of this nation must therefore fully dedicate their energies and resources to the construction of a vibrant economy." Not surprisingly, President Kiir's note of caution was easily drowned in a sea of high expectations and hopes for a peaceful, democratic and prosperous nation.

No quick fixes

Two years later, South Sudanese people realize that there are no shortcuts to building a nation. Peace is still elusive as fighting continues on many fronts, corruption is creeping into public offices and unemployment is still high. Even with abundant oil and a fertile land, the pace of development is slow, albeit steady.

Barely a month after independence, the Lou Nuer and Murle people in the Jonglei and Warrap states in the eastern part of South Sudan fought over cattle, leaving about 600 people dead. Already an estimated 2.5 million people have lost their lives over the two decades of war between Sudan and South Sudan, according to Human Rights Watch, a New York–based advocacy group.

Yet both countries still squabble over oil proceeds. South Sudan shut down oil production in January 2012, accusing Sudan of confiscating oil flowing through its pipelines and of overcharging on handling fees. Since oil accounts for 80% of South Sudan's gross domestic product (GDP), that move virtually cut off its economy's arteries. The frosty relationship between the two countries, caused largely by disputes over oil, threatens "the very foundation on which South Sudan's future will be built," says *The Telegraph*, a British newspaper. Following the oil shutdown, South Sudan's economy contracted by 11% by the end of 2012, according to the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

No doubt the South Sudanese government must rebuild its financial, social and security institutions from the ground up, while also keeping an eye on reconciling the feuding ethnic groups and tackling corruption. In May 2012, angered by the alleged looting of a staggering $4 billion from state coffers, President Kiir warned government officials, "We fought for freedom, justice and equality, yet once we got to power, we forgot what we fought for and began to enrich ourselves at the expense of the people."

Nonetheless, the socioeconomic and security conditions in South Sudan are now better than they were at independence. There is the $718 million multi-donor trust fund in addition to a $130 million loan from the World Bank's International Development Association that have helped build 87 hospitals and clinics and 336 primary classrooms, among other things. "Over 108 women's groups have been provided with funds for economic activities like tailoring, food processing and running retail stores," says Mary Jervas Yak, South Sudan's deputy minister for finance.

Peacekeeping to peacebuilding

Peacebuilding is the last but most critical stage in a conflict resolution process, according to a 1992 United Nations Secretary-General's report titled *Agenda for Peace, Preventive Diplomacy and Peacemaking*. That process begins when preventive diplomacy fails and peacemaking is needed to get warring factions to agree to a negotiated settlement. This leads to peacekeeping, which includes disarming combatants and monitoring how the peace agreement is implemented. The last stage involves peacebuilding activities, which build and support institutions intended to solidify peace, states the UN report.

Given the high expectations and many challenges in post-conflict countries, the transition from peacekeeping to peacebuilding can be difficult, notes Michael von der Schulenburg. He is one of

the UN mission chiefs whose successful management of peacebuilding operations in Sierra Leone following the end of a brutal conflict in 2002 is hailed as a shining example. In that country, the UN peacebuilding assistance programme supported the integration into society of some 45,000 former combatants, collected remnants of small arms through a community-based programme and strengthened the capacity of the government and civil society. The programme also provided assistance with holding elections in 2007 and 2012.

In a nutshell, adds Mr. von der Schulenburg, "Peacebuilding is access to water, to education, to basic health care—access to opportunities" (see *Africa Renewal*, August 2011). Although Sierra Leone still grapples with youth unemployment, corruption and other governance issues, economic growth is currently a massive 17%, according to the IMF, and agricultural production is on an upswing, notes the World Bank.

The Sierra Leonean model

To a large extent, neighbouring Liberia has followed the Sierra Leonean peacebuilding model. But Sierra Leone had to deal with only 45,000 ex-combatants, while Liberia has more than 100,000. Providing sustainable jobs to the ex-combatants has been more difficult in Liberia than it was in Sierra Leone, as Liberian former fighters appear to be more restive. In 2010, for example, the UN mission in Liberia announced that about 2,000 mostly jobless Liberian fighters had moved over to western Côte d'Ivoire to fight alongside anti-government forces in that country.

The UN is convinced that reconciliation is an important part of post-conflict peacebuilding. Sierra Leone's reconciliation efforts were based on "peace with justice," which, as part of the healing process, encouraged the formation of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Here people could voluntarily reveal wrongdoings they had committed during the war and seek forgiveness. The TRC was bolstered by a UN-supported Special Court to try those who had committed serious crimes. Key figures such as Foday Sankoh, the leader of the rebel Revolutionary United Front, and Hinga Norman, who led a pro-government militia, were indicted but the two died in custody during trials.

Liberia took a different approach and its reconciliation efforts have stumbled a few times. Despite agitation by some citizens, the country saw no need for a special court. In 2005, however, it set up a TRC, which in 2009 submitted a report in which it blacklisted current president Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf and 49 others, saying they were to be "specifically barred from holding public offices; elected or appointed for a period of 30 years." The Supreme Court declared that recommendation unconstitutional.

Liberia's reconciliation challenge

After acrimonious elections in October 2011, President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf appointed fellow Nobel laureate Leyman Gbowee to lead reconciliation efforts. Ms. Gbowee resigned after less than a year in office, claiming the president wasn't serious enough about reconciliation. George Opong Weah, a former soccer star who has lost two presidential elections to Johnson-Sirleaf, succeeded Ms. Gbowee. Since his appointment, Mr. Weah has been relatively quiet, many say.

UN police officer talks to high school students during an outreach campaign for United Nations Day. 📷 *UNMIL/Stanton Winter*

Even with these challenges, at a 7.5% growth rate, the Liberian economy is scoring impressive gains. The UN has a huge peace operation in the country, training up to 4,000 police personnel, supporting the judicial system and extending government's presence to far-flung towns and villages. And recently, for the first time in decades, a contingent of Liberian soldiers joined the UN peacekeeping mission in Mali, a fellow West African country now mired in conflict.

Peacebuilding is necessary to "reduce a country's risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict," says Charles Dambach, the former chief executive officer of Alliance for Peacebuilding, a Washington DC–based organization that promotes peacebuilding. He agrees that "the ultimate objective of peacebuilding is to reduce and eliminate the frequency and severity of violent conflicts."

Jobs problems in Côte d'Ivoire

Similar peacebuilding projects are also under way in many other African countries, such as Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Guinea-Bissau, all aimed at dealing with the root causes of conflict. Adama Bamba, coordinator of Côte d'Ivoire's Emergency Youth Employment and Skills Development Project, says that jobless youths were the most active group in his country during the war. Up to 60% of those between the ages of 14 and 35 have no jobs, according to Côte d'Ivoire's National Institute of Statistics. Despite this, the country is still the world's largest cocoa producer.

With help from the World Bank, Côte d'Ivoire is now moving aggressively to create jobs. For example, it has enlisted the private sector to train more than 3,000 youths, many of whom are employed by these companies.

In 2008, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon announced that Côte d'Ivoire was eligible to receive money from the global body's Peacebuilding Fund, which was set up in 2006 to support countries emerging from conflict. The fund doled out $18 million to assist Côte d'Ivoire in land reforms, security and activities designed to extend state authority to areas where it had ceased to exist.

see page 27

African immigrants passing by a poster advertising international money transfer services in Brussels, Belgium. Panos/Mark Henley

Tapping migration wealth to fund development

African diaspora remittances can reduce poverty

By **Jocelyne Sambira**

In a small and stuffy room in midtown Manhattan, some people are filling in forms while others wait patiently in line to submit them. It is spring in New York City but the sweltering heat and the poor ventilation is reminiscent of summer. The teller shielded by a glass window barks orders through a round hole. With one hand on his suitcase, Omar tugs at his collar to loosen the red and blue striped tie around his neck. Pearls of sweat are visible on his forehead. "I am sending money to a person," he speaks deliberately. Seemingly satisfied with his answer, the teller continues to punch her keyboard and shouts the next question, "How much?" He knows the drill. And like most migrant workers in the city, the trek to this hole in the wall is part of his routine on pay days.

Billion dollar industry

It's hard to believe that this grimy cubicle is the face of a billion dollar industry. The global money-transfer industry, having escaped the financial crisis unscathed, is making huge profits. Not only do the companies charge a fee to transfer money to another country, they also make profits off the exchange rates. Like when Omar sends his monthly $200 contribution to his family in Ghana, he pays up to 8% in remittance or transfer fees. Remittance is money sent to someone as an allowance.

Egypt and Nigeria are among the top recipients of migrant remittances, says the African Development Bank's latest report, the African Economic Outlook 2013. According to the report, the two countries received 64% of total remittances to Africa in 2012 – US$18 billion transferred to Egypt and US$21 billion to Nigeria.

The World Bank estimates that there are 140 million Africans living outside the continent. Scores of young Africans, like Omar, move to the West in search of better jobs every year. Omar settled on driving a yellow cab in New York City after holding various odd jobs, he told *Africa Renewal*. He bragged about how he made US$1,000 some days after pulling an all-nighter. A portion of his money goes to pay for his parents' rent and school fees for his siblings in Ghana.

As a green card holder, which gives him permanent residency in the United States, Omar can use walk-in payment facilities like the one in midtown Manhattan without fuss. Wire transfer companies have recently

$61bn

Estimated annual remittances sent to African countries from the diaspora in 2012

been under greater scrutiny and tighter regulations put in place requiring them to "know their customers." To send money abroad, the sender's identity and that of the receiver must be disclosed. Often tellers will ask for proper identification. But for illegal migrants, this is not an option. They often work and get paid under the table and therefore prefer to use informal channels. These unrecorded flows are believed to be at least 50% larger than recorded flows, says Dilip Ratha, a World Bank senior economist in charge of migration and remittances. Globalisation has created a demand for a cheap and mobile labour force, notes Rob McCusker in his article on underground banking written for the Australian Institute of Criminology. There is often the cultural expectation, he says, that migrant workers will send a proportion of their earnings to families back home.

Hawala

A lot of the money sent informally is hard to track. For example, money carried by visiting friends or acquaintances. But there are informal banking systems like the *hawala* (which means "trust" in Arabic) networks that serve people who want to remain anonymous because they require no identification. The fees are much lower, between 3% and 5%. The term *hawala* is now often used to mean "transfer," explains Ibrahim Farah, a Somali-American who operates a money transfer business in Nashville, Tennessee. Speaking to Nashville Public Television's series, Next Door Neighbours, Farah says it's an age-old practice that was used by Arabic traders in the past to protect themselves against highway robbers. *Hawala* was later used in the Middle East, Asia and Africa to move money quickly and safely

With the collapse of the banking system in Somalia following civil war in the 1990s, *hawalas* were used by refugees and internally by businesses and non-governmental agencies to pay employees. Backed by the World Bank and the UN and fuelled by the Somali diaspora community, the Somalia remittance network channels about US$1.5 billion a year. The money has helped keep Somali families afloat over the years, especially during the 2011 famine. However, because of fears that these alternative banking systems could become

2012 remittance flows to Africa

GLOBAL MARKET

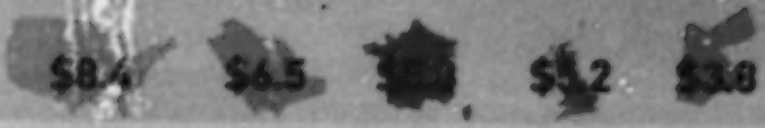
$529bn
Estimated size of global remittance flows

$62bn
Estimated size of remittance flows to Africa

2012 12%

Africa constitutes up to 12% of total global flows

TOP 5 SOURCES (in billions of dollars)



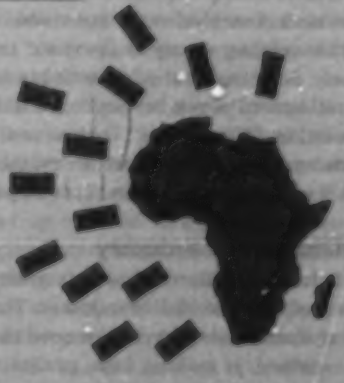
TOP 10 AFRICAN RECIPIENTS (in billions of dollars)

Nigeria	$20.6	Senegal	$1.4
Egypt	$20.5	Kenya	$1.2
Morocco	$6.9	Sudan	$1.1
Tunisia	$2.2	South Africa	$1.1
Algeria	$1.8	Uganda	$0.98

COST OF SENDING $200 TO AFRICA

The average cost of sending remittances to Africa is **12%**. Globally, sending remittances costs an average of **9%**. In Nigeria, where most migrants send money home from abroad, the fee is **18%**. The G8/G20 plan aims to reduce the global average remittance price to 5% in five years, which could save migrants up to $16 billion a year.

The five most costly corridors are all intra-Africa and rates are as high as **25%**.



Source: Send Money Africa, World Bank

vessels for money launderers and terrorists, many countries have introduced new legislation and tighter controls, which has forced some *hawalas* to close.

Redefining remittances

Somalia is not the only African country where migrant remittances have become an important source of external funding. Officially recorded remittance flows to Africa by the World Bank are estimated to have increased from US$ 9.1 billion in 1990 to nearly US$40 billion in 2010. These remittances equalled 2.6% of sub-Saharan Africa's gross domestic product in 2009, or almost 60% of official aid flows to the region.

African countries rely heavily on external funding for development. But foreign direct investments and official development aid have declined over the years, notes the African Development Bank (AfDB). Development experts believe remittance flows can help reduce poverty and grow economies. However, a big chunk of the remittances go to pay hefty bank fees. "High transaction fees are cutting into remittances, which are a lifeline for millions of Africans," states Gaiv Tata, the World Bank's director for finance and private sector for Africa.

Ghana, South Africa and Tanzania are the most expensive countries in Africa to send money, with fees averaging 20%, according to the Send Money Africa database funded by the African Institute for Remittances. One reason is the limited market competition for cross-border payments. The database shows Africans pay higher fees to send money home than any other migrant group. Opening up the remittance market to competition and better information to consumers could bring remittance prices down, says Massimo Cirasino, another senior World Bank economist.

The world's eight most industrialized countries known as the G8, and the group of finance ministers and central bank governors from the G20, plan to bring remittance fees down to 5% by 2014 from the current average of 12.4%. This would put US$4 billion back in the pockets of Africa's migrants and their families. The plan will involve increasing competition and banning exclusivity agreements, providing consumers with more information on prices and conditions through innovation and improved efficiency. For example, an overhaul of the Rwandan payment system has helped reduce the cost of sending money to that country from 19% to 15% over the past two years.

Remittances are an important share of foreign reserves for countries, but their impact on development and economic growth are minimal if they are only spent on consumption. Cash-strapped African governments are trying to get migrants to invest part of their wealth in their homeland in the form of diaspora bonds. The capital raised could be earmarked for big development projects. The initiative is not new. The governments of India and Israel have raised about US$40 billion since the 1950s using these bonds, noted Suhas L. Ketkar and Dilip Ratha in a 2007 World Bank research paper on diaspora bonds.

Sub-Saharan Africa is the most expensive region to send money to with an average of 12.4% compared to the global average cost which is around 9%. *Africa Renewal/Bo Li*

In Africa, Ethiopia was the first country to issue diaspora bonds to finance a hydroelectric power dam. The so-called Millennium Corporate Bonds, issued in 2009, failed to sell. Analysts cited lack of trust in the government as a guarantor and political risks as some of the reasons for the flop. In 2011, the government re-advertised the bonds as the Renaissance Dam Bonds, lowering the minimum denomination to an affordable US$50 and offering to pay yields or interest to the buyers every six months. Waiving remittance fees associated with the purchase of the bonds was another new feature added.

Meanwhile, Rwanda had a more successful outcome. When Rwanda's major donors suspended aid after the UN accused its government of backing rebels in the Democratic Republic of the Congo – a charge it denied, Rwandans living internally and abroad, as well as "friends" of Rwanda, were called upon to donate to a "solidarity fund" named Agaciro Development Fund, which means "dignity" in Kinyarwanda. By August 2012, the fund had attracted pledges of about US$31 million, according to *The Guardian*, a UK newspaper.

Issuing Diaspora bonds and turning remittance flows into bonds or instruments that can be sold to investors are good alternatives to borrowing from the international capital market, says the AfDB. According the bank's research, Africa could potentially raise $17 billion annually using future flows of exports or remittances as collateral. The arguments in favour of enlisting migrants as investors are that migrants are often interested in housing, infrastructure, health and education projects and they are thought to be more loyal than financial investors in times of stress.

Selling the bonds in small denominations is also a plus for low-wage earners. However, as Ethiopia learned, patriotism alone cannot drive investment – people have to make a financial return. Trust is another important factor in marketing bonds to the diaspora. Transparency in the use of funds could ease concerns. If done right, experts believe these bonds could be a promising financial vehicle for African countries to attract resources, and for the diaspora to satisfy their yearning to contribute to the development of their countries.

UNECA

Most African countries will be middle income by 2040

Interview with Carlos Lopes, executive secretary, Economic Commission for Africa

It's been a year since Carlos Lopes was appointed UN under-secretary-general and executive secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. As the head of ECA, he is in charge of promoting the economic and social development of Africa and fostering regional integration. In an interview with *Africa Renewal*'s Kingsley Ighobor, Mr. Lopes shared his thoughts on Africa's current economic situation and his hopes for the future. The following are excerpts from the interview.

Africa Renewal: The *2013 Economic Report on Africa* appears to mirror the 2012 report. What has changed over the past year?

Carlos Lopes: Not necessarily on the economy, but in terms of the mentality and the priorities, there is a sea change taking place. We are working with the African Development Bank and the African Union Commission on something called Vision 2063—50 years from now. We got African ministers of finance to approve the idea of transforming African economies and shift from agriculture into industrial and service sectors. This has to be done now for three reasons. First, it's because you do your big transformation when you are on a growth path, not when you are in recession. Second, you transform when you actually have an increasing urban population, which is what is happening now in Africa. And third, you do it when there is a good macroeconomic environment, which we do have. Our reserves are now at an all-time high—half a trillion dollars. We have inflation around 7% on average. We have managed to get the regulatory system right, particularly on the financial sector. Budget deficits are under control. We are saying that industrialization is the key driver of this transformation.

At the macroeconomic level, a lot of progress has been made. But there is still joblessness.

First of all, what is the value of labour statistics in Africa? The definition of *employment* as applied in other regions has very little currency in understanding the current reality in Africa. Right now we have a major statistical problem on the continent. So you are talking about not knowing, apart from guessing games, the real characteristics of the composition of GDP in African countries. Demographics—same problems. You have only about 12 African countries that have done a census in the last 10 years. The quality of methodological development in terms of checking the trends in census has not been followed in many countries, even those with the means to do so. For example, Nigeria is now revising its base years for national accounting.

Is that a reasonable thing to do in Nigeria? It seems like statistical manipulation—an arbitrary upward GDP revision.

We will come to that, let me address jobs. One of the areas where we have a weakness is precisely employment and labour statistics. We don't know exactly how many people are really employed. If you take the statistics of South Africa you can be almost sure they are on the mark because they have more sophisticated machinery. For the rest, we have a guessing game. So to say it's a jobless growth or a growth that is losing a lot of jobs—both are wild guesses. What we know for sure is that the population is

increasing too fast and there is no historical precedent in the world where you have this kind of curve. This means we have to create 10 million jobs a year.

Most investments in Africa are in the extractive sector, which does not produce many jobs. Is it not possible we are experiencing a jobless growth?

Jobless growth? I don't believe it! I think we are not creating as many jobs as required by the economy, but it's not a jobless growth. Right now there are people that are occupied, not employed, and we don't know the dynamics of the situation because we have not adapted labour statistics to capture the types of activities that typically an urban young African has. People are occupied but don't have jobs. We don't have a way of capturing these types of activities because it's informal. Labour statistics are very scanty and static; they were designed for a reality that is not the African reality.

Is there therefore a need to have special parameters for measuring labour statistics in Africa?

We need to do that. This is something that ECA is definitely going to do. There is a tremendous poverty of numbers. One of the contributions ECA has to make is to address gaps of information that capture the exact economic activities taking place in Africa and give a better picture that allows planners to do their job. And that starts with statistics.

Your report calls for value addition to Africa's commodities. This should be a commonsense approach.

The conventional wisdom is that when you have a commodity boom you also have a commodity curse, and therefore it is very rare for commodity-rich countries to move into industrialization. But historical facts demonstrate the opposite. A number of regions in the world, including this country [the United States], have developed their industries on the basis of commodities. So we have to be much more sophisticated in the way we deal with commodity-based industrialization than in the past. First step, you assess what has happened; we have nine case studies [in the ECA report]. We look into what happened and then try to understand the mistakes made and the positives as well. Second, we say this is not just about regulation, but regulation plays a very important role, including sophisticated protectionism.

What is sophisticated protectionism?

Protection is not a bad word. But we should do it with sophistication, which means you have to have the right balance. Then we come to regional integration. You are not going to industrialize if each country tries to survive on its own little thing. For example, Togo wants to survive on toothpaste produced in Togo and Benin wants to produce its own. Some markets are big enough—certainly Nigeria. But the majority of the countries would not be in a position to take advantage of industrialization if they don't integrate regionally. We have been talking about regional integration for 50 years. Is it happening? Well, there has been progress but that progress is timid.

> **"The future of Africa is not in soft commodities; the future of Africa is in industrialization**

Sophisticated protectionism sounds like regulation. The World Trade Organization is likely to oppose that.

But we are talking about the African agenda. The WTO is a negotiating platform.

The African economy is integrated in the world's economy.

Integrated to a point. What you need is to make the case for an Africa agenda.

Can that case be successfully made?

Well, the EPA [Economic Partnership Agreements] discussion is still ongoing—so why not? There is no country in the world that has industrialized without sophisticated protectionism.

What about the argument that formulating new policies to regulate trade is anti-free market?

It's not a matter of choosing between state and market as if these were two opposites. That discussion is over. Everybody agrees now that there is a role for the state and there is a role for the market. There are regulations that are necessary. This country [the US], Europe, Japan have done it. The moment they get in crisis, what do they do? They intervene in the banks and so on. So that discussion is over.

What about subsidies for farmers in the West, which tend to affect African farmers who cannot compete on the international market?

Africa will continue to fight. Maybe they will never succeed in that fight. They should not put their eggs into that basket too much.

Why not?

Because Africa has many other opportunities. It doesn't need to focus on the export of soft commodities as its primary goal.

Are you suggesting that Africa can downplay commodities like cocoa, cotton and others and concentrate on other opportunities?

Yes. First, there are commodities that Africa, because of its monopoly position, should be able to get better deals from, like cocoa. Second, it's a lost battle because Europe will not give up. And third, the future of Africa is not in soft commodities; the future of Africa is in industrialization. Yes, we need to produce agricultural products big-time—but for Africa.

But can you separate industrialization from a focus on soft commodities?

No, I don't separate the two. If we are saying industrialization in Africa is necessary, it will be commodity-based. That includes soft commodities, but a few, not many. Like cocoa and cotton. You can even think of sugar. There is a market for it. But for the rest, the agricultural production of Africa should turn into Africa consumption. I hate to use the term *world food security* because it carries a lot of baggage. It immediately connotes we are taking care of people affected by drought. It's much more than that. It's about creating a market for consumption of agricultural products in Africa.

For a full transcript of the interview, go to www.un.org/africarenewal

A civil quality controller at Medupi Power Station in Limpopo, South Africa. Panos/Robin Hammond

Industrialization: A new burst of energy

Reliance on commodities has to stop, says report

By **Kingsley Ighobor**

10,000

The number of megawatts of electricity Nigeria needs but generates only 4,500

Carlos Lopes, the executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), often talks about Toblerone, the famous chocolate bar manufactured in Switzerland by Kraft Foods, an $18 billion company. Cocoa for Toblerone bars is imported, probably from Africa, where 70% of the world's cocoa is harvested. Mr. Lopes once pointed this out to Côte d'Ivoire's president, Alassane Ouattara, and lamented the fact that only about 10% of the money from chocolates goes to cocoa producers, while the rest remains in the rich chocolate-producing countries.

Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana produce 53% of the world's cocoa. But oddly, chocolates on supermarket shelves in the leading cocoa-producing countries come from countries that don't produce cocoa.

Time is now

It's the same story with coffee, cotton, groundnuts, crude oil and so on. "Up to 90% of income from coffee goes to rich consuming countries," states the *2013 Economic Report on Africa* published by the ECA and the African Union Commission (AUC). Ethiopian coffee farmers may toil day and night, but they reap comparatively very little. With 12% of the world's oil reserves, 40% of its gold, about 90% of its chromium and platinum, 60% of its arable land and more, Africa should do better at tackling poverty, says the report. Instead, it concentrates on exporting raw materials and importing consumer goods, hindering the ripple effect that value addition to commodities should have in the economy.

This has to stop, Mr. Lopes argued with combative fervour at a conference of Africa's ministers of finance, economic planning and development in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, last March. He would like to see chocolate-manufacturing and coffee-producing industries in villages in Côte d'Ivoire and Ethiopia. Nigeria, the world's sixth-largest producer of crude oil, should refine enough for local consumption rather than spending $8 billion a year subsidizing fuel imports.

Advocates of commodity-driven industrialization have a compelling case. It will rev local manufacturing engines and create millions of jobs in Africa.

More jobs will reduce poverty and expand the middle class, which will in turn demand more goods and services.

According to the report, adding value to agricultural produce will unleash new opportunities for farmers, who, assured that excess produce will fetch income, could then actively participate in the marketplace. Companies will sprout with new technology, while local industry players, armed with modern skills, could insert themselves into the global trade and exert influence. Value addition could also boost intra-African trade, which is currently low at 12%.

Industrialization drumbeat

The industrialization drumbeat is sounding louder each passing day. "Industrialization cannot be considered a luxury but a necessity for the continent's development," says Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, head of the AUC. More urbanization, a rising middle class, an improved macroeconomic environment, a rising gross domestic product—all are low-hanging fruits that can nourish industrialization.

Indeed, the stars are aligned in Africa's favour. But some fear that impressive economic growth may mask the reality of poverty and breed complacency. Although Africa's economic growth is currently at 4.8% and could be nearly 6% by 2014, according to the ECA, economists also talk about a "jobless growth." Such growth does not stimulate labour-intensive manufacturing to dent unemployment. Africa's global share of manufacturing is just 11%, compared to 31% for east Asia, for instance. Its production of manufactured goods should increase from the current level of 11% to at least 20% of GDP to make any meaningful impact, Mr. Lopes told *Africa Renewal* in an interview.

"Today on average manufacturing in Africa's low-income countries is smaller as a percentage of GDP than it was in 1985," reinforces John Page, in a paper for the Brookings Institution, a Washington think tank. Mr. Page adds that the continent's economic growth and resilience during the 2008–2009 global financial crisis were largely due to "new mineral discoveries, rising commodity prices and the recovery of domestic demand." This growth trajectory is not sustainable because commodities are mostly exhaustible, and Africa has little control over disruptions in world demand and prices.

Mr. Page notes that sustainable growth will depend on structural changes—as in Chile, which has expanded its agro-industry, and India, which has expanded its exports of services. Mr. Lopes agrees and calls for "structural transformation," which is "a shift from agriculture into industrial and service sectors." Commodity-based industrialization, he says, is the bridge from economic growth to jobs creation and social development.

Devil in the details

As Mr. Lopes and others made the industrialization case at the Abidjan conference, the audience, which included many African policy-makers, nodded enthusiastically. However, as to how that goal is to be achieved, the devil appears to be in the details. Even the ECA report acknowledges that not all countries have commodities to export, while others are landlocked and face high transport costs. And most African markets are small and fragmented, which cancels out any competitive advantage smaller countries may have.

To create bigger markets, African countries should integrate their economies. Just imagine the following, said Mr. Lopes: "Togo [six million people] wants to survive on its toothpaste produced in Togo, and Benin [nine million people] also wants to produce its own." The right recipe for regional integration is that countries concentrate on commodities in which they have a competitive advantage. For example, Benin and Egypt could concentrate on cotton, Togo on cocoa, Zambia on sugar—each country operating in bigger regional markets.

Problems with regional integration, such as weak political commitment and a lack of policy harmonization, are familiar. Yet the 2013 ECA/AU report is optimistic about the outcome of commodity-based industrialization, which it insists "must be grounded in the reality of each country."

Investing in infrastructure

Poor and obsolete infrastructure hinders industrialization efforts. On last year's Africa Industrialization Day, 20 November, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon noted that "to facilitate trade in goods and services, it is essential to reduce distribution costs," which is only possible through investments in roads, railways and energy infrastructure.

With nearly 600 million people without electricity, Africa is the world's most energy-poor region, said Kandeh Yumkella, the former director-general of the UN Industrial Development Organization, at a lecture at the London Business School last November. The continent loses "2% to 3% of its GDP because of the lack of reliable energy."

He noted that Nigeria needs 10,000 megawatts of electricity but generates only 4,500. Yet the country has been flaring gas for 40 years. "We estimate that the gas flared in Africa can supply half of the continent's electricity needs, but we burn it with no value addition."

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Sub-Saharan Africa by the numbers in 2011

886.4mn
Total population

$1.3tn
GDP (current US$)

4.5%
Annual GDP growth

$182bn
South Africa's estimated GDP, also sub-Saharan Africa's largest real GDP

$230mn
Guinea-Bissau's GDP, Africa's smallest

In 2011, sub-Saharan Africa GDP growth was 2%. Ethiopia had the largest growth at 9%. Eleven of the 48 sub-Saharan Africa countries had a growth of over 5% for the same period.

Source: World Bank

Women packing soap made from shea butter at a processing unit run by the Nununa Federation of Shea Producers in Burkina Faso. Roel Burgler/Hollandse Hoogte/Redux

Shea butter nourishes opportunities for African women

Fair trade brings decent profits to millions

By **Rebecca Moudio**

In a fancy Manhattan hotel in New York, women in colorful traditional African gowns make their way to one of the conference rooms. Their outfits provide a fascinating contrast to the grey and black business suits surrounding them. The crowd is diverse, but is gathered because of one thing: shea butter that comes from an African nut and is used in cosmetics as a lotion or moisturizer.

The Shea Butter Trade Industry held its first-ever conference in North America in May 2013. The occasion was an opportunity for African producers to mix with cosmetics industry giants such as L'Oréal and the Body Shop. The demand for shea butter has risen so much in recent years that African producers have started calling for fair prices for their labour.

Shea butter comes from the nuts of karité trees that grow in the Sahel region extending from West to East Africa, from Guinea and Senegal to Uganda and South Sudan. For centuries shea butter has been called "women's gold" not only for its rich golden color (although shea butter can also sport a deep ivory hue, depending on the region) but also because it primarily provides employment and income to millions of women across the continent. Using traditional methods, women, often organized in cooperatives, harvest karité fruits. They then crush the nuts inside to extract the precious butter, which is boiled, cleaned, packaged and sold at the local markets or exported. Shea butter is non-toxic and edible, and can be used in cooking. But it is mostly used for cosmetic purposes.

The UN Development Programme (UNDP) estimates that an average of three million African women work directly or indirectly with shea butter. The top shea nut-producing countries are Nigeria, Mali, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Benin and Togo.

Making good money

"I have been making good money for my family selling shea butter," Lucette Ndogo, a well-known shea butter vendor at the Marché Central in Douala, Cameroon, said in an interview with *Africa Renewal*. She purchases the shea butter in bulk from Burkina Faso and sells it for a profit to clients who have come to trust the quality of her products.

Antoine Turpin of IOI Loders Croklaan, a global producer of edible oils, told *The New York Times* that "shea [butter] is an important source of revenue to millions of women and their families across Africa. Empowering these women economically is crucial to the industry's sustainability." *The New York Times* says Turpin's company alone purchases an estimated 25% of all shea nuts picked by women in West Africa.

With the demand for natural and organic products rising in the Western world, shea butter has become a hot commodity. The precious substance is used for many different types of cosmetics and skin care products because of its natural healing properties; people prefer it to the harsh chemicals, artificial colors and fillers often used in conventional cosmetics.

Shea butter is also used in food products such as chocolates. Confectioners use it as a cocoa butter equivalent to give chocolates a higher melting point and a smoother texture. The butter is used in popular chocolate bars such as Kit Kat and Milky Way.

"Women's gold"

According to *The New York Times*, a survey conducted in a village in Burkina Faso by USAID in 2010 found that for every $1,000 of shea nuts sold, an additional $1,580 in economic activities, such as reinvesting the money in other trades, was generated in the village. Shea butter exports from West Africa garner between $90 million and $200 million a year, according to the newspaper. The demand comes not only

from major corporations but also from millions of entrepreneurs who hope to make a fortune in the distribution of this "women's gold."

With high demand come ethical issues, which often arise with products originating from the developing world, including Africa. Because of shea's newfound popularity, the number of shea fair trade cooperatives and associations seeking a fair deal for African women has increased.

Fair prices for commodities

Fair trade is an organized social movement dating from the 1980s that promotes better trading conditions between producers from developing countries and buyers in the developed world. Proponents also seek to raise consumer awareness, believing that an educated consumer may be willing to pay more for goods if the producer gets a fair deal.

In order to receive fair prices for their products, commodity producers have to maintain certain levels of environmental and labor standards recommended by fair trade certification organizations such as Fairtrade International, World Fair Trade Organization, Faire Trade USA and Fair Trade Federation, to name a few.

The fair trade model appears to offer an improvement on the conventional trade model. Paying market prices for the commodity guarantees a minimum price to the producers. The industries usually associated with fair trade are coffee, cocoa, bananas, flowers, gold and other exotic products. Shea butter was not one of the most sought-after African commodities until recently.

Harriet Lamb of the Fairtrade Foundation says, "Fair trade addresses the injustices of conventional trade, which too often leave the poorest, weakest producers earning less than it costs them to grow their crops. It's a bit like a national minimum wage for global trade. Not perfect, not a magic wand, not a panacea for all the problems of poverty, but a step in the right direction."

No clear evidence

Philip Booth from the Institute of Economic Affairs, a British think tank, sees things differently. He argues that "no clear evidence has been produced to suggest that farmers themselves actually receive higher prices under fair trade. Fair trade may do some good in some circumstances, but it does not deserve the unique status it claims for itself."

Cosmetics retailers often portray fair trade shea butter as an exotic, traditional, authentic and ethical product encouraging female solidarity. The butter is produced by women in Africa and consumed mainly by Europeans and North Americans in search of "ethical" products. Because of the high number of companies and small entrepreneurs claiming to use fair trade shea butter in their products, it can be difficult to separate marketing strategy from real engagement.

L'Occitane en Provence, a French multinational cosmetics firm famous worldwide for its luxury products based on natural ingredients, prides itself on its use of fair trade shea butter in products including hand, body and foot creams. Indeed, for the company's activities in Burkina Faso, its business model was recognized by UNDP in 2013 as one of the 12 most innovative and inclusive in Africa.

Platform to exchange ideas

A UNDP report titled *L'Occitane au Burkina Faso: More than Just Business with Shea Butter Producers*, highlights the company's dedication, its collaboration with 15,000 rural women producers and its use of shea butter in its products. According to the report, L'Occitane estimates that it pays 20% to 30% more for shea butter from Burkina Faso than it would for shea butter from Western industries. Sales of shea butter to L'Occitane represent about $1.23 million in revenues yearly for the supplier cooperatives and their 15,000 rural women members.

In order for more African women in the shea industry to reap the benefits of fair trade, the Global Shea Alliance, an association that promotes quality and sustainability in the shea butter industry's support for rural African communities and women's empowerment, organized the New York Shea Butter Trade Industry Conference. With the first New York fair trade event, the Alliance sought to provide a platform for exchanging ideas across the supply chain of collectors, producers, traders, industrial users and consumers of shea butter.

"The Body Shop has used shea for over 19 years and we are firmly committed to using our learning to build a sustainable shea sector," said Mark Davis, the company's director of community fair trade. "Being a member of the Global Shea Alliance is critical to achieving that goal."

Other global commodities, such as coffee, have become associated with fair trade, and many stakeholders in the shea industry aspire to create that association for their product. Salima Makama, the Global Shea Alliance's president, is convinced that the African women who came to New York to implement better strategies to empower themselves are well on their way to turning the shea butter export into "real gold."

Cooperatives of women produce fair trade shea butter from shea nuts for use as cooking oil or for cosmetics. Vanessa Vick/Redux

Slippery justice for victims of oil spills

Nigerian villagers lose lawsuit against an oil giant

By **Yemisi Akinbobola**

Oil drips from the hands of a man as he digs out crude oil spilled from a ruptured pipeline. Panos/George Osodi

In a stunning and dramatic legal ruling that echoed from the serene court chambers in the Netherlands to the heart of rural Niger Delta in Nigeria, the District Court of The Hague dismissed all but one of the lawsuits brought against Royal Dutch Shell, an Anglo-Dutch oil and gas company, by a group of farmers seeking compensation for the environmental damage caused by the company.

The lawsuit was filed in 2008 by four fishermen and farmers accusing Shell of ruining their livelihoods through environmental degradation. The claims centred on oil spills that occurred between 2004 and 2007 at the Ibibio-I oil well in the village of Ikot Ada Udo in Akwa Ibom State. The villagers wanted Shell to repair the damages caused to their communities by cleaning up the oil spillage, adequately maintaining pipelines to prevent future leaks and paying compensation for loss of livelihoods.

The court's ruling revived the old debate on the activities of multinational oil companies in Nigeria. When commercial oil exploration began in the region in 1958, many people felt it was the dawn of prosperity for the country. But decades later, pollution and other environmental damage have led to a feeling of discontent and to protests—sometimes violent ones. The quest for justice and human rights has taken the people of Niger Delta to the courts in Nigeria, and more recently to the United States and the Netherlands.

Oil exploration and production in the Niger Delta region is a joint venture of multinational oil companies including Royal Dutch Shell, the United States corporations Chevron, Exxon-Mobil and Texaco, Agip (Italy), Total (France), and the state-owned Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation. Shell Nigeria alone accounts for about a fifth of Nigeria's total oil production.

The Niger Delta people's ongoing concerns were vividly captured in a 2011 report by the UN Environment Programme (UNEP), published after a two-year scientific evaluation of Ogoniland in Rivers State. The evaluation covered 69 sites and revealed serious environmental and public health concerns. The UNEP report found contamination in the soil, groundwater and vegetation. It further found that "illegal activity" around the oil pipes had also contributed to environmental devastation.

The same environmental problems that UNEP identified had triggered activism in the Ogoniland

400,000

Estimated number of tons of oil spilled in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria over the last 30 years

region in the early 1990s, with numerous lawsuits filed within Nigeria against oil companies such as Shell and Chevron. But according to Nnimmo Bassey, an award-winning environmental activist and head of the advocacy group Environmental Rights Action in Nigeria, this did not stop the companies from damaging the environment through gas flaring, the burning of natural oil. When the courts have fined the companies for damages, "the corporations have just laughed it off; they've just not paid attention to [the] fines," Mr. Bassey told *Africa Renewal*.

For their part, the companies have denied the charges, arguing that the damage was being caused by oil spills from pipelines destroyed by criminals looking to make profits from illegal oil.

The villagers' failure to get compensation in Nigeria pushed them to file lawsuits outside the country. Evert Hassink, campaigner at the Dutch environmental organisation Friends of the Earth, says such cases don't bring "good solution for the victims" or "lead to a better oil field practice." This despite that some 400,000 tons of oil have spilled in the region over the last 30 years as a result of corroded and poorly maintained pipelines, destroying the environment and ecosystem, according to Friends of the Earth.

Transnational Justice

The first lawsuit against Shell outside Nigeria took 13 years to be heard in court. It was filed in 1996 by the family of Ken Saro-Wiwa, an author and activist, in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, under the Alien Tort Statute, a 1789 law that gives non–U.S. citizens the right to file lawsuits in U.S. courts for violations of international law committed outside the U.S. Although Shell settled out of court in 2009 and agreed to pay the Saro-Wiwa family $15.5 million, it denied the charges that included complicity in human rights abuses and inhumane treatment of the Ogoni people.

"Transnational litigation arises in circumstances where the legal system in the country where the harm occurs is not capable of providing justice locally," said Robert Percival, the director of environmental law at the University of Maryland in the U.S., in an interview with *Africa Renewal*. "As a result, the victims will try to sue these companies in [the companies'] home countries."

According to *The New York Times*, "while the pollution damage itself was not in dispute [in the Nigerian case], Shell argued that the spills had been caused by so-called bunkering—oil theft from the pipelines—as well as outright sabotage."

"This ruling will enable more people to understand what is happening on the ground in Nigeria," said Jonathan French, a Shell spokesman. "We have this rampant problem of criminal activities: oil theft, sabotage and illegal refining. That is the real tragedy of the Niger Delta." The District Court of The Hague, on 30 January 2013, agreed with Shell about most of the spills that had occurred around the villages of Goi and Oruma. So did Mutiu Sunmonu, the managing director of Shell Nigeria. "In the past years we have seen a decline in operational spill volumes. These spills, however, were caused by sabotage and the court has, quite rightly, largely dismissed the claims."

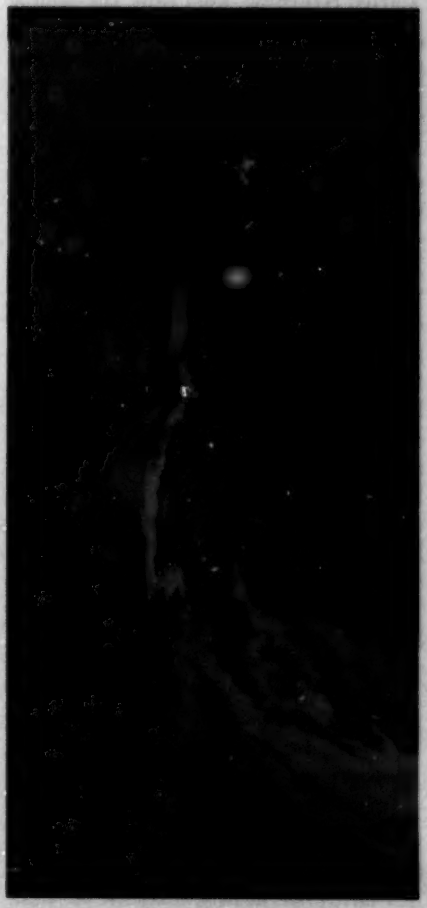
The court dismissed all the claims except for one, for which it ruled that it was reasonable to demand a duty of care from Shell for the "people living in the vicinity of the Ibibio-I well and especially fishermen and farmers." It ruled that Shell therefore should have taken "security measures to prevent sabotage" and as a result was liable for damages.

The ruling appeared to give hope to advocates of international law that anyone could file a lawsuit in any country—or so it seemed until three months later, when the US Supreme Court ruled in April 2013 against the use of the Alien Tort Statute, which has been part of US law for more than two centuries. The case had been filed by Esther Kiobel, the wife of the late Barinem Kiobel, one of the Ogoni Nine activists executed by the Nigerian military government in 1995. The court ruled that "nothing in the ATS's [Alien Torte Statute's] text evinces a clear indication of extraterritorial reach."

"The court essentially said that we should presume that the first US Congress in 1789 did not intend to allow the US courts to hear cases based on tort that happened outside the US, and I think that is wrongly decided," said Professor Percival. Despite this apparent setback, the ruling may not have much of an impact on cases from abroad, as "it was already so difficult to win these cases."

There is hope, however, for a landmark ruling made by the Economic Community of West African States Court of Justice in December 2012, which ordered Nigeria to take measures "to ensure restoration of the environment of the Niger Delta," to prevent environmental damage and to "take all measures to hold the perpetrators of the environmental damage accountable." The hope is that this will set a precedent for the future in reforming Nigeria's legal system, or at least ensuring that Nigerians will have recourse to justice within their own country.

"I think that's the trend of the future, that you will see developing countries being encouraged to improve their own legal systems so that they can provide justice," said Professor Percival. That, perhaps, is a beacon of hope for the people of Niger Delta.



An oil spill on a creek of the Niger Delta.
Panos/Sven Torfinn

No place like home
from page 7

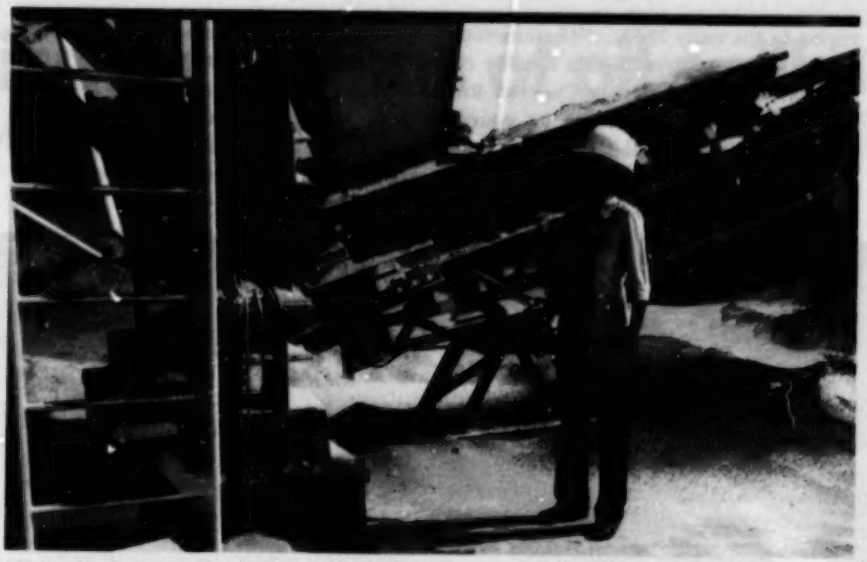
However, with Africa's rising economy and decreasing conflicts, African immigrants have found incentives. A 2010 IOM report found that about 70% of East African migrants, mainly Ugandans, Kenyans and Tanzanians in the United Kingdom, were willing to return home permanently.

A survey by Jacana Partners, a pan-African private equity firm, of African students at the top 10 American and European business schools, showed similar results, that more than three in four hope to work in Africa upon graduation.

Many South African professionals who emigrated because of rising crime rates, bad labour policies and employment practices that favoured particular groups in a post-apartheid South Africa have now started returning. Kom Huis Toe-veldtog (Come Home Campaign), an organization that assists skilled South Africans in returning home, says it has so far helped about 6,000 people. "Life abroad is not necessarily moonshine and roses. People who leave the country, unfortunately, often only realise this when they have already paid the huge emotional and financial price attached to emigration," the organization writes on its website.

The continent's political leaders also appear to have arms open to receive the returning Africans. The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the African Union's economic development organ, even created an African diaspora programme that it says is strategically important to Africa. In May of last year, NEPAD organized an African Diaspora Summit in Johannesburg, South Africa, to encourage Africans in the diaspora to support economic integration and development on the continent. That was a thinly veiled invitation to skilled Africans abroad to return to help their countries.

Apart from the improving African economy and the decrease in civil conflicts, the going-back-home phenomenon appears to be driven, at least in part, by family reasons. "To migrate or not to migrate remains an intimately personal decision," writes Chofamba Innocent Sithole, a Zimbabwean journalist and political analyst who lives in the U.K. For Michael Asiimwe, a Tanzanian and global service manager for Vodacom, a mobile phone company in Kenya, a yearning to be with his family forced him to return. He had spent six years in the U.K. and the US before moving back to Tanzania.



Mariam Koné at a dolerite crushing plant in Moribougou, north-west of Bamako. 📷 *Mariam Koné*

"It became too much for me to take," Mr. Asiimwe told *Africa Renewal*. "So many big occasions were missed, weddings, funerals, birthdays of family members, just because it was too far and too expensive to travel back and forth."

Tough working conditions abroad also force Africans to consider going back home. Ms. Koné now works only six hours a day, down from the 11 hours she used to work in Canada. "In the West, you work a lot and life is highly material. It's all about buying material stuff," she says, adding that in Mali she has struck a better balance between work and leisure.

It's not all rosy

Entrepreneurs like Ms. Koné may feel welcomed back, but those who hope to get into public service are confronted by the harsh realities on the ground. Government salaries can be a fraction of what they used to make abroad, and working conditions can be poor. Many face drastic changes in their lifestyles: constant power outages, bad roads, poor health care systems, lack of safe drinking water, corruption, crime and the high cost of doing business.

Ms. Koné told *Africa Renewal* that it took about five years to get her business to its current level. The bureaucracy in Mali makes it difficult to make quick decisions, she says. "I wasn't used to this in Canada." Those who return are often equipped with innovative ideas but soon discover that they have to deal with the daily challenges of doing business in a harsh environment.

No turning back

Despite such daunting challenges, many of those who have made the journey back home feel they made the right decision. "Those who are on the ground now will snatch the best opportunities first," says Ms. Koné. "I cannot predict the future of Mali, I am still here and I have invested so much already." Not even the current conflict in her country has weakened her resolve to continue business there.

Across Africa, from Mali to Tanzania, from Senegal and Somalia to South Africa, the story is the same: Africans are coming home from abroad—for patriotic or family reasons, or simply because of the continent's increasing opportunities.

Brendah Nyakudya, editor of *The Afropolitan*, a South African magazine, says, "These young lions returning have been dubbed the 'repatriation generation' and are a fast-growing subculture of African émigrés." Their return is now Africa's gain after the earlier pains of brain drain.

**Elizabeth Chacko: "From Brain Drain to Brain Gain: Reverse Migration to Bangalore and Hyderabad, India's Globalizing High Tech Cities".*

Uprooting the causes of conflicts

from page 14

The litmus test

The Great Lakes region—made up of Burundi, the DRC, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda—presents a litmus test on peacebuilding. Last May, both Mr. Ban and Jim Yong Kim, the World Bank president, visited the region. Earlier, Mr. Ban had been in Mozambique, where he had touted the country's development efforts. "Mozambique, Rwanda and Uganda have all shown that it is possible to recover from conflict and progress towards the MDGs [Millennium Development Goals]," he said while in Mozambique. "It is now time for the DRC to follow their example."

The DRC's development indicators are not stellar, which is why both Mr. Ban and Mr. Kim want changes immediately. Up to 70% of its people live on less than $1.25 per day. Among other woes facing the country, are a crumbling infrastructure and 2.4 million severely malnourished children.

Burundi's struggles

Since 2003, when the UN stepped up its peacekeeping mission in Burundi, the guns have mostly fallen silent. However, 10 years later, Burundi is still one of the world's poorest countries, ranking 178 out of 186 in the 2013 UN Development Programme's human development index, which rates countries based on life expectancy, education and incomes. Burundi's peacebuilding efforts haven't quite been on the same level as those of Liberia and Sierra Leone. But this landlocked country has stabilised politically, while increased investments in agriculture—particularly coffee, its mainstay—are expected to improve living conditions.

Already, massive road projects have created thousands of jobs and life expectancy has risen from 43 years in 2000 to 50 years in 2011, says the World Bank. While Burundi will likely not meet the MDG targets, it has moved in the right direction by reforming state institutions and providing social services for its people, notes the bank.

Overall, post-conflict African countries are trying hard to deliver peace dividends—jobs, peace, freedom, democracy and the rule of law. Mr. Ban's assessment is upbeat: "Throughout Africa, we see growth. Economies are growing. Freedom and good governance are growing. Confidence is growing." With peacebuilding, Africa may have found the right formula for rooting out conflicts. The challenge is to make it last.

A new burst of energy

from page 20

In general, concurs the ECA, entrepreneurs in Africa "face high transaction costs, protracted and cumbersome administrative procedures and bureaucratic bottlenecks, and poor physical and financial infrastructure."

Many African governments are investing heavily in infrastructure—railways in South Africa, energy in Ethiopia and Nigeria, road construction in Rwanda and so on. But workers are ringing the alarm bells, worried that industrialization's promise also has its perils. Imani Countess, the African regional programme director at the Solidarity Center, an international labour rights organization, said that industrialization in South Africa—Africa's most industrialized nation—is lowering wages and causing poorer working conditions. Manufacturing companies put pressure on the government to allow individual companies to determine their own labour standards, rather than having to adhere to the national standards.

There was frequent labour unrest in Liberia's Firestone rubber plantation until the company accepted some of the workers' demands for salary increases and a ban on child labour. Workers who constantly agitate against a company's practices can disrupt its operations. Anthony Caroll, a researcher at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a Washington think tank, wants companies in Africa to be able to hire and fire staff if necessary. On the other hand, Michael Clark, adviser with the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), said at a conference in New York last year that liberalization policies of the past that softened governments' grip on national economies have hurt Africa as massive profits were repatriated by foreign investors. What Africa needs now is "strategic policies targeted at specific sectors." Mr. Lopes calls that "sophisticated protectionism," which allows the government to strategically intervene in the market in a way that benefits national economies.

Many African governments are investing heavily in infrastructure. World Bank/Arne Hoel

Any attempt to reset the liberalization button through policies that appear to go against the free market principle is bound to be controversial. Mr. Lopes argues that "sophisticated protectionism" policies do not conflict with the World Trade Organization regulations, as some economists claim. "Everybody agrees now that there is a role for the state and there is a role for the market," he says. However, *The Economist*, a London-based magazine, ascribed China's recent huge economic leap to its allowing private enterprise to thrive with little interference, and suggested that India's current economic slowdown and Africa's high poverty rate may be the results of "monopolies and restrictive practices."

While the debate continues on the best ways to achieve industrialization, Mr. Yumkella foresees disaster should Africa continue to rely only on commodity exports. The good news is that Africa can aggressively pursue industrialization; he adds quickly, "We can do it."

Simple invention brokers peace between humans and wildlife

By **Jocelyne Sambira**

Richard Turere talks about his invention at the Technology, Entertainment, Design (TED) 2013 conference in California. *TED/James Duncan Davidson*

Five flashlight bulbs, an old car battery and a solar panel were the only tools 11-year-old Richard Turere used to put together a system of lights that keeps his family's cattle safe from lions. His simple invention costs less than $10 and it's easy to install and maintain. It also works to prevent elephants from trampling people's crops.

The light bulbs are wired to a car battery charged with a solar panel. The lights flash in sequence, scaring off the hungry lions. The BBC quotes Dr. Charles Musyoki, senior scientist at the Kenya Wildlife Service, describing the system as "ingenious." "Lions are not afraid of a steady light," Dr. Musyoki remarks, "but flickering lights from multiple sources confuse them" and therefore discourage them from approaching.

Because his family lives right behind the Nairobi National Park, lions often lurk in Richard's village to hunt prey. After the family bull was killed, he earnestly began looking for a way to outsmart them. Richard's breakthrough came while he was herding cattle back to their shed. He saw a lion retreat in the dark when he shone his flashlight.

Conflicts between humans and wildlife in Kenya are frequent. It's estimated that Kenya loses more than 100 lions every year, often to "mob justice" from locals angered by the loss of their livestock, according to *The Economist*. The Kenya Wildlife Service reports that such conflicts cost the government huge amounts of money as, for example, over $800,000 was paid in compensation fees for the affected people in 2011 alone. On the flip side, the state makes huge profits from wildlife tourism, leading the locals to believe the animals are more valued than they are.

Richard's invention has earned him nicknames like "the solar lion tamer" or the "Maasai lion whisperer," a reference to his descent from the Maasai of Kitengela savannah in Kenya. Cattle are important to the Maasai culture and their way of life. Cows are a form of currency for the semi-nomadic and mainly pastoral people of south Kenya and parts of Tanzania.

Richard has installed the "lion lights" in his neighbourhood and the attacks are dwindling. His invention is a simple but innovative way to manage human-wildlife conflict. The invention helped him "make peace with lions," he says. ●

New technology helps small farmers attract 'big' business

By **Geoffrey Kamadi**

Small-scale farmers in Kenya can now store and manage data on the pesticide content in their crops before exporting them, thanks to a cloud-based mobile platform that keeps track of pesticide residues in produce. Farmforce software, an initiative of the Swiss-based Syngenta Foundation for Sustainable Agriculture, will phase out time-consuming manual farm record-keeping and replace it with an online version that can be accessed by farmers freely via a mobile phone, according to ***Business Daily Africa*** of Kenya.

The Syngenta Foundation, backed by the Swiss government, developed the $2 million platform in 2011 with the help of a team based in Switzerland and a support team in Kenya.

Furthermore, the technology is not restricted to horticulture; it can be used for all types of crops.

Already countries such as Ghana, Guatemala, Indonesia, Nigeria and Zimbabwe have expressed interest in the service. It's particularly useful where quality standards and traceability requirements for formal markets are an issue.

With 5 million farmers, including small subsistence growers and large industrial agriculturalists, Kenya has been a hotbed of technological innovations for the agrarian community, according to the 2011 World Bank's e-sourcebook ***ICT in Agriculture***.

Uganda is also using a cloud-based mobile platform to combine agricultural information and financial services designed for smallholder farmers, reports the ***Christian Science Monitor***. For example, farmers can order and pay for seeds and fertilizers with their mobile phones, and also collect payment for their produce using the same service. ●

Technology meets health and spurs invention

By **Pavithra Rao**

Young African entrepreneurs are taking giant steps forward in addressing some of the continent's most pressing health issues. Arthur Zang, a 24-year-old Cameroonian engineer, has developed a digital medical tablet, called Cardiopad, equipped with a touch screen that performs electrocardiogram (ECG) tests to determine the heart's activity and diagnose ailments.

The Cardiopad comes in handy, as the World Health Organization reports that heart diseases in Africa are increasing. With a population of more than 20 million, Cameroon has fewer than 40 cardiologists in the country, making the portable invention all the more useful, says Mr. Zang. Most of the cardiologists are based in urban centres, making access difficult for patients in rural areas.

The Cardiopad eliminates the need to travel long distances to see a cardiologist, as the device can work without electricity. It uses a battery that can last for about seven hours, Mr. Zang explains, which is crucial, since most of rural Cameroon has no access to electricity.

Currently the Cardiopad sells for between $2,000 and $3,000, less than most conventional electrocardiograph machines. With a reliability rate of 97.5%, according to the inventor, it might just be a lifesaving device for heart patients in Cameroon.

Meanwhile, two U.S.-based African students, Moctar Dembélé from Burkina Faso and Gérard Niyondiko from Burundi, have won an award worth $25,000 from the University of California at Berkeley for inventing a soap capable of repelling mosquitoes, which can spread malaria. They are the first Africans to win the Global Social Venture Competition held by the university, and hope to invest the money in producing the soap, which they have named Faso.

Solutions to prevent and cure malaria exist but are out of reach for much of the population in Africa. *Check In Films/Faso Soap*

Faso Soap is made completely out of natural ingredients that are available in Africa, including karate citronella, essential oil of lemongrass, shea butter and a "secret ingredient" that the inventors claim helps to kill mosquito larvae.

According to the World Health Organization, more than 600,000 deaths in 2010 were caused by malaria, with over 90% of them occurring in Africa. Mr. Dembélé, who is also the general manager for Faso Soap, says, "We want a simple solution, because everyone uses soaps, even in the very poor communities." His partner, Mr. Niyondiko, anticipates selling the soap for $0.59 a bar. ●

UNICEF's RapidSMS transforms lives

When in 2009 Christopher Fabian and Erica Kochi, two employees of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), developed RapidSMS, a platform for data gathering and group communication using the short messaging system (SMS) on mobile phones, their aim was simply to tackle the problem of slow data transmission within the food security surveillance system in Malawi. Four years later, RapidSMS is touching the lives of millions in many African countries, helping to record births and monitor distribution of mosquito nets in Nigeria, monitor neonatal health in Zambia and track food distribution in the Horn of Africa, among other uses.

Mr. Fabian and Ms. Kochi are now global celebrities. U.S.-based *Time* magazine included them on its list of 100 most influential people in the world in 2013. "I am proud to be their colleague. This is a great recognition of how the 21st century ideas and tools can transform ordinary people's lives in an extraordinary way," says UNICEF's executive director Anthony Lake.

Erica Kochi and Christopher Fabian, creators of RapidSMS, at UNICEF headquarters in New York. *UNICEF/Susan Markisz*

RapidSMS is a simple tool that helps frontline workers send data through SMS texts to a secure website. Decision-makers—and the public—can monitor such data in real time and determine progress in projects even in remote communities. Where necessary, they can also intervene promptly.

texts to a internet-based dashboard. Before 2011, Nigeria could record only half of the country's 6 million births per year, says UNICEF on its website, adding, "Without a birth certificate, a child is much less likely to get educated, be vaccinated or receive health services."

RapidSMS's built-in feedback loop, which provides quick feedback to health workers, for example, on "the nutritional diagnosis of each child based on the data sent in," makes it an important tool. It helps workers to respond to the needs of each child. Pregnant women in Rwanda and children living with HIV in Zambia consider such quick information about their medical needs a great help.

Without a birth certificate, a child is much less likely to get educated, be vaccinated or receive health services.

Nigeria, where RapidSMS was deployed in January 2011, registered about 7 million new births by the end of 2012. Birth registrars in 686 local government areas in 33 of its 36 states delivered data through SMS

Not long ago, health workers in Nigeria used to manually record birth information such as weight, upper-arm circumference and height, which they then passed on to their headquarters. There the information was entered manually into a database before it was analyzed. RapidSMS has changed all that, as it provides "access to accurate, timely and actionable information," says UNICEF.

To reach millions, project managers in the coming years are likely to rely increasingly on mobile phones' SMS texts. This is because Africa currently has more than 650 million mobile phone users, according to the World Bank. In 1998 the figure was about 2 million. Most public workers have a mobile phone today, notes UNICEF.

Although RapidSMS provides useful real-time information, Merick Schaefer, a World Bank innovation specialist, says that "technology is only one element of innovation. The question is, can institutional practices keep pace?" Mr. Schaefer wants people to adjust the way they work to take advantage of real-time data. An innovation such as RapidSMS, combined with technology-focused practices, can make a huge impact on people's lives. ●

APPOINTMENTS

UN Photo/Ban Soomoon

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon has appointed **Haile Menkerios** of South Africa as his special representative to the African Union (AU) and head of the UN office to the AU. Prior to his appointment as Mr. Ban's special envoy for Sudan and South Sudan in July 2011 (a position he will continue to hold), Mr. Menkerios served as the special representative and head of the UN Mission in Sudan since March 2010. From 2007 to 2010, he was the assistant-secretary-general for political affairs at the UN headquarters in New York. Mr. Menkerios served as the deputy special representative of the secretary-general for the Democratic Republic of the Congo from 2005 to 2007, and as the director of the Africa division within the political affairs department from 2003 to 2005. In 2002, he was the senior adviser to Mr. Ban's special envoy to the Inter-Congolese Dialogue. Mr. Menkerios replaces Zachary Muburi-Muita of Kenya.

UN Photo/Sharri Price

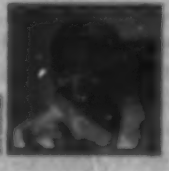
Nicholas Kay of the United Kingdom has been appointed the UN Secretary-General's special representative for Somalia. At the time of his appointment, Mr. Kay was working as the Africa director at the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, a position he has held since 2012. Prior to this, he served as the British ambassador to the Democratic Republic of the Congo and then Sudan from 2007 to 2010 and 2010 to 2012, respectively. He was also the UK's regional coordinator for southern Afghanistan and head of the Provincial Reconstruction Team for Helmand Province from 2006 to 2007. Mr. Kay succeeds Augustine Mahiga of Tanzania.

UN Photo/Evariste Dzokeu

Albert Gerard Koenders of the Netherlands was appointed as the UN Secretary-General's special representative and head of the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali. Mr. Koenders has served as the special representative and head of the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire since October 2011. He brings with him more than 25 years of experience in national politics, international affairs and development including as minister for development cooperation.

UN Photo/Tobin Jones

Martin Kobler of Germany was appointed as special representative of Mr. Ban for the UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Prior to his appointment, Mr. Kobler served as special representative with the UN Assistance Mission in Iraq and as the deputy special representative with the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan from 2010 to 2011. Mr. Kobler succeeds Roger Meece of the United States.



UN Women

Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka of South Africa has been appointed by Mr. Ban as the executive director of the UN Women. She brings to the position a wealth of experience in advocating for women's issues. Ms. Mlambo-Ngcuka was the first woman to hold the position of deputy president of South Africa from 2005 to 2008. She has also held several positions, including that of minister of minerals and energy from 1999 to 2005. Ms. Mlambo-Ngcuka replaces Michelle Bachelet of Chile.

AFRICA BOOKS

Africa at a Glance ed. Elize van As (Africa Institute of South Africa, Pretoria, South Africa, 2012; 297 pp; pb £15.95)

Africa Emerges: Consummate Challenges, Abundant Opportunities by Robert Rotberg (Policy, Cambridge, UK, 2013; 288 pp; pb $26.95)

The ANC Youth League by Clive Glaser (Ohio University Press, Ohio, USA, 2013; 172 pp; hb $14.95 PDF $11.99)

Anthropology of the Middle East and North Africa into the New Millennium ed. Sherine Hafez and Susan Slyomovics (Indiana University Press, Indiana, USA, 2013; 414 pp; pb $30)

Art and Trauma in Africa: Representations of Reconciliation in Music, Visual Arts, Literature and Film (International Library of Cultural Studies) by Lizelle Bisschoff and Stefanie Van de Peer (I. B. Tauris, London, UK, 2013; 264 pp; hb $95)

China and Angola: A Marriage of Convenience? ed. Marcus Power, Ana Alves (Fahamu Books, Oxford, UK, 2013; 192 pp; pb £16.95 PDF £13.95)

Conflict and Peacebuilding in the African Great Lakes Region ed. by Kenneth Omeje and Tricia Redeker Hepner (Indiana University Press, Indiana, USA, 2013; 262 pp; pb $28 ebook $23.99)

Economic Report on Africa 2013: Making the Most of Africa's Commodities-Industrializing for Growth, Jobs and Economic Transformation by The Economic Commission on Africa (The Economic Commission on Africa, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2013; 256 PP; pb $48 PDF $24)

Environment and Natural Resource Conservation and Management in Mozambique by Munyaradzi Mawere (Langaa Research and Publishing Common Initiative Group, Bamenda, Cameroon, 2013; 216 pp; pb £19.95)

Govan Mbeki by Colin Bundy (Ohio University Press, Ohio, USA, 2013; 168 pp; pb $14.95 PDF $11.99)

The History and Practice of Humanitarian Intervention and Aid in Africa eds. Bronwen Everill and Josiah Kaplan (Palgrave Macmillan, New York, New York, USA, 2013; 272 PP; hb $90)

Human Rights and Conflict Transformation in Africa by Laurence Juma (African Book Collective, Oxford, UK, 2013; 506 pp; pb £34.95)

Liberation Movements in Power Party and State in Southern Africa by Roger Southall (University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Scottsville, South Africa, 2013; 400 pp; bp R285)

Mobilizing the Hordes: Radio Drama as Development Theatre in Sub-Saharan Africa by Victor N Gomis (Langaa Research and Publishing Common Initiative Group, Bamenda, Cameroon, 2012; 294 pp; pb $31.03)

BOOK REVIEW

Interventions: A Life in War and Peace

by Kofi Annan with Nader Mousavizadeh
The Penguin Press, New York, NY, USA, 2012; 512 pp; hb $38

KOFI ANNAN
with Nader Mousavizadeh

Kofi Annan is best known not only for his 10-year tenure as the Secretary-General of the United Nations and for receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in 2001, but also for a number of notable achievements around the world in defending human rights, providing humanitarian assistance and promoting the Millennium Development Goals. It's been seven years since he left the UN, but his recognition worldwide is still evident and his influence on global affairs still palpable. Kofi Annan the man is not so different from Kofi Annan the world leader. In his memoir, ***Interventions: A Life in War and Peace***, Mr. Annan shares his journey as one of the world's most influential personalities, his struggles and his regrets during his time at the head of the UN.

Mr. Annan, a Ghanaian, who served as the first sub-Saharan African to hold the office of UN Secretary-General, is widely respected by his peers and the public. A charismatic but quietly spoken figure, Mr. Annan, as UN Secretary-General, knew how to use his charm and "celebrity" status to pursue his mandate, and brought greater visibility to the organization and the issues close to his heart. With his remarkable account of the most significant events during his tenure, Mr. Annan delves into each one with eloquent intensity.

From the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 against the United States to the American-led wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, from the conflict between Israel and Hezbollah in Lebanon to the wars in Bosnia and Somalia and the genocide in Rwanda, Mr. Annan delivers a raw but honest account of his sentiments as the events unfolded.

On Iraq, Mr. Annan's message in the book is clear: the war was "without global legitimacy or foresight." He goes on to say, "By behaving in the way that it did, the United States invited the perception among many in the world—including long-term allies—that it was becoming a greater threat to global security than anything Saddam [Hussein] could muster. This was a self-inflicted wound of historic proportions...."

On the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, which happened on his watch and ranks as one of his darkest moments, Mr. Annan writes, "We spent days frantically lobbying more than 100 governments.... I called dozens myself.... We did not receive a single serious offer. It was one of the most shocking and deeply formative experiences of my entire career." The consequence was the brutal killing of 800,000 people in 100 days.

Mr. Annan's honesty in describing the organization's missed opportunities and ongoing challenges comes across as riveting and genuine. His account of what happens behind closed doors during negotiations on global issues gives the reader an exclusive insight into history in the making.

The book is divided into themes, including Africa, HIV/AIDS, peacekeeping and UN reforms. Mr. Annan's delivery is effortless and concise. For each situation he provides just enough detail without overwhelming the reader. This book provides a great opportunity to better understand international affairs and the issues at stake.

— **Rebecca Moudio**

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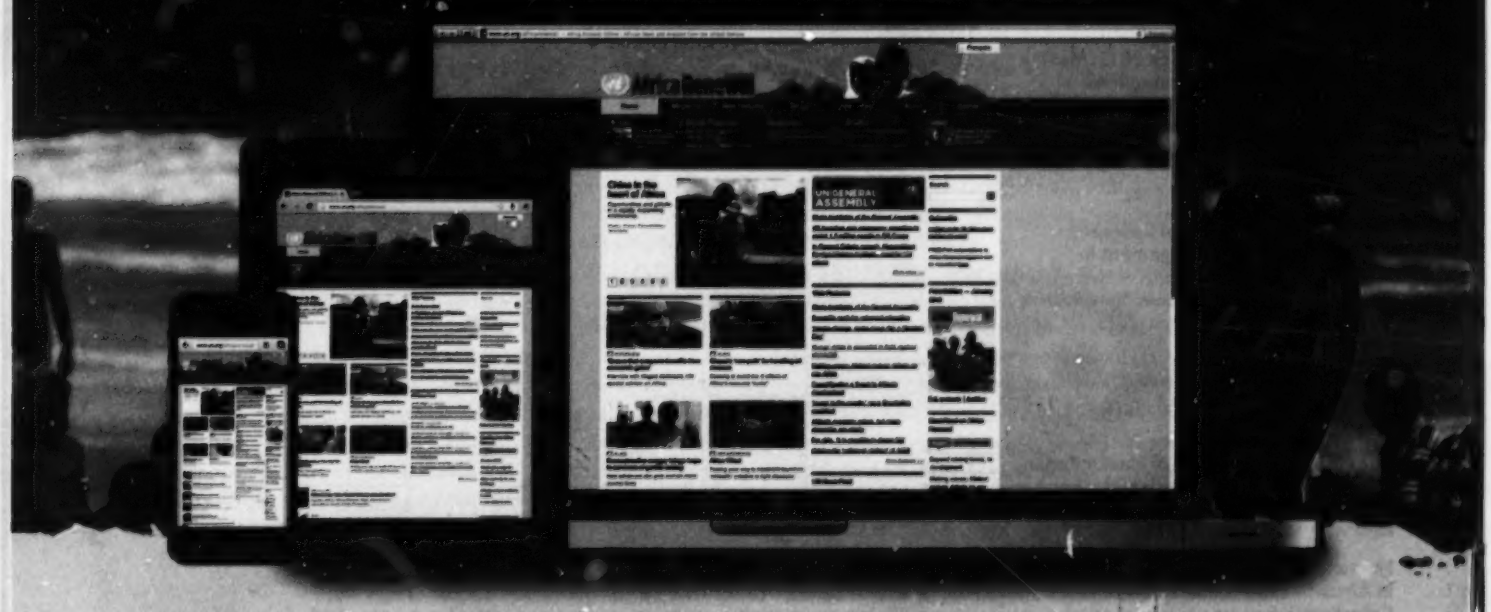

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